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ABSTRACT

The panel provides an overview of the factors most influential in shaping the American high school as it exists today and recommends (1) replacing the comprehensive high school and providing comprehensive education; (2) establishing participatory education involving adolescents and other interested adults in the community; (3) establishing small, flexible, short-term, part-time, schools; (4) establishing a community guidance center housing the professionals who now work in the high school and other agencies; and (5) reducing compulsory daily attendance from all-day sessions to an academic day of 2-4 hours. These changes are to be accompanied by local testing and evaluation involving adult and adolescent citizen participation. Federal financial support is recommended for research, planning, and evaluation of programs and for the establishment of a national recruitment training and technical support program for operational planning teams to be established at the local level. (Author/MLF)

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THE EDUCATION OF Adolescents

THE FINAL REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE NATIONAL PANEL ON HIGH SCHOOL AND ADOLESCENT EDUCATION

EA 008 757

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
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Office of Education
T.H. Bell, *Commissioner*

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FOREWORD

For more than 100 years America's system of free public high schools has provided high quality education to more students than any other system of education in history.

Like so many of this Nation's social institutions, secondary education is subject to the dynamics of change that have made America such a live, vibrant society. Breakthroughs in science and technology have fathered revolutionary changes in lifestyles and new interpretations of traditionally accepted moral and ethical values. Adolescent boys and girls attain physical maturity at an earlier age than ever before, causing further complications and reverberations in a society that enjoys increasing amounts of discretionary time.

Secondary schools stand in the center of the storm that swirls around the education of our 12- to 18-year-olds. Thus it is not surprising that the role of the schools should have come under intensive and critical scrutiny by prestigious committees and task forces since World War II and particularly during the past few years.

I consider the report of the National Panel on High Schools and Adolescent Education a major contribution to this ongoing public discussion and debate concerning the role of the secondary schools and reform proposals.

Dr. John Henry Martin, the Panel Chairman, is an eminent scholar, and the Panel was composed of an unusually effective combination of social scientists in the fields of economics, psychology, sociology, and political science, as well as professional educators and students.

The Panel concluded that we have drifted into an excessive reliance on the high school as the instrument for "educating" teenagers and preparing them to enter adulthood; that this burden must be reduced; and that we must examine anew what can be done to strengthen the educational role of the family, the church, the media, and other institutions that play vital roles in the education of our youth.

The observations and recommendations of the Panel merit the attention of the general public and all leaders of education. While I cannot agree with them in every detail, I am sure they are going to have a significant impact in charting the future course of our high schools.

T. H. Bell
U.S. Commissioner
of Education

PREFACE

In 1972 the U.S. Office of Education, under the direction of Commissioner Sidney Marland, appointed a national panel to study the education of the Nation's young people between the ages of 12 and 18. The National Panel on High Schools and Adolescent Education, as it was called, was specifically charged with the task of preparing an analytical report that would describe the current status of secondary education in the United States; identify and analyze the problems of adolescent education in American society today; ascertain the kinds of reform, renewal, and change needed, if any; and provide a description of the policy issues, and research and development programs that would make available needed knowledge and perspective.

Several factors indicated clearly the need for a thorough study of secondary education today, and provided the rationale for assembling such a panel:

- No comprehensive study of secondary education had been made since James Bryant Conant's reports of a decade ago.
- Student characteristics and societal conditions are changing rapidly, yet our secondary education institutions appear to have remained relatively static. Whether this institutional stability is appropriate required examination.
- No Federal education programs focus on the secondary school as an institution, and only the vocational education program provides substantial funds to local schools. As a result, little attention has been paid to planning for the secondary schools.
- Most research and policy development in the intellectual community has been focused on young children or on higher education. The secondary school years have not received the attention necessary to make it possible to articulate this intervening educational experience with the changes that have taken place in higher education and at the elementary school level.
- Major problems exist in the secondary schools and in adolescent growth and development--manifest unrest and frequent racial conflict, a growing drug problem, inadequate preparation for work or for higher education, alienation and lack of motivation. Little effort is being made to analyze these problems, their causes, and approaches to solutions.

The central issues that the Panel identified and explored grew directly out of the rationale for its existence. What are the major achievements and shortcomings of the Nation's high schools? How are these institutions meeting, or failing to meet, individual and societal needs? What are the new directions in which secondary schools must move to meet the problems of adolescent education? And what role should the Federal Government play in assisting or promoting change?

For 75 years reform in education has focused on the curriculum, what it should and should not include, where its emphasis should lie, and how it should be structured. More recently reform has also been concerned with internal reorganization of the schools, and with a variety of instructional methods designed to increase the efficiency of instruction. But over the years the schools, especially the high schools, have been burdened with greater accountability for the development of the rising generation, for introducing the Nation's youth to the rights and responsibilities of adult citizenship, and for assuming an increasing obligation for redressing the inequities in society, even while they were coping with ever larger numbers of students.

This report, for the first time, raises fundamental questions about the role of the high school in contemporary society, its ability to perform the many tasks that have been assigned to it, and the directions potential reforms should take. The Panel specifically chose to look at the adequacy of the institution that has evolved from an academically centered organization into a conglomerate institution with functions and responsibilities--from driver training to sex education--that go far beyond any previous conception of what a school should be accountable for. The Panel pays its respects to the high school as a unique invention that has performed its basic academic functions with remarkable success--and at the same time challenges those forces that have turned it into an oversized, all-purpose institution that, of necessity, has paid more attention to the problems of management than to providing a stimulating and sensitive environment for the individual learning and development of the young. An essential feature of the report, therefore, is the conviction that the high school has become overburdened and should share its responsibilities for youth with other agencies in the community, so that instruction and educational experiences can be provided both in the school and outside the school in the community itself.

In the chapters that follow the Panel provides, first, an overview of those factors that have been most influential in shaping the American high school as it exists today. In the second chapter the Panel states its major formal recommendations for a fundamental restructuring of secondary education and for a conceptual change in its relationship to the society it serves. Each of the succeeding chapters explores a different direction

for attempting to develop a new model of secondary education. Some of the chapters include insights and informal guidelines for change, others include more formal suggestions and, deliberately, a few include specific recommendations--all aimed at supplementing and expanding the formal recommendations contained in chapter 2.

In reviewing the Panel's deliberations and report, I have been struck by the extraordinary balance and reasoned analysis which the members brought to the review of papers and issues. They stayed clear of the dogmatic, of sloganized reforms, or ideological rigidity. They saw their recommendations as limited and nonutopian. They saw and emphasized that all change carried with it foreseeable and unforeseeable consequences, that improvement was the goal not replacement. Accordingly, my review of their recorded discussions and my rereading of the background papers made me conscious of how easily deep analysis of an institution can lead to a feeling that all is pathological. On the contrary, the Panel repeatedly was struck by the huge dimensions of the unique and essentially salutary achievement of universal secondary education in the United States. Accordingly, we eschewed the popular rhetoric of hostility, of the sick speech of those who talk of conspiratorial oppression, in favor of a quieter prose drawn, we hope, from reasoned and critical analysis.

John Henry Martin
Chairman

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Religion, morality and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.

--The Northwest Ordinance, 1787, Article 3

Chapter 1

OBSERVATIONS

The American high school has grown from an institution serving scarcely 10 percent of the adolescent population in 1900 to a gigantic enterprise serving more than 90 percent of the age group and graduating 75 percent. Only in the last 25 years has the high school succeeded in reaching more than 50 percent of the Nation's adolescents. The monumental nature of this growth, while accepted as commonplace in this country, can be better appreciated when compared with current conditions in Western Europe where the most advanced nations provide formal schooling for from 4 percent to less than 20 percent of their adolescents. In 1973 the secondary schools of the United States served upwards of 18 million students, although the recent decline in the birth rate will stem continued growth.

The high school as it presently exists, regardless of its size or organization, is in most essentials the academic institution that emerged near the end of the 19th century. Over the years it has expanded fitfully--but without much long-ranged planning--from an institution designed to train a small proportion of highly selected adolescents for scholarly or professional careers, into an all-purpose, all-welcoming, almost inescapable agency for nearly all of this country's adolescents.

In attempting to meet the needs of all American youth, the high school today is often failing to respond adequately to the needs of the individual students. The traditional pattern of curriculum and administrative development attempts to fit changing populations (or at least changing generations of students from shifting populations) into an essentially static institution. The high school's academic aura persists, along with its biases and values. Most of its values deserve to be cherished, but their articulation and application in contemporary life seem alien to many students who acquire informal but powerful collateral education via television, the other media, their peers, and other groups with whom they associate in the community. The comprehensive high school, the most recent development of the institution, has left today's high school with its academic character weakened but still persisting, and with its capacity to alter its structure to meet the needs of contemporary adolescents not significantly strengthened.

The Panel is persuaded that both as an institution and as a social concept the American high school will remain the keystone of this Nation's educational system. However, it requires orderly reform. It must become flexible in order to cope with the shifting demands that changing populations place upon it. It must be responsive to the change and increase in parental

and community expectations. It must, at the same time, remain true to its essential heritage as the major formal transmitter of the Nation's culture and history, as the testing and training field of youth in their preparation for adulthood and citizenship, and as the crucial community agency in which the children of all groups learn to live both together and apart.

From its beginnings, public education received support from citizens, and hence from governmental sources, because of certain inarticulated major assumptions: that the basic skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic were essential to the advancement of the arts, skills, crafts, and trade; that further education in the realms of ideas and values, in history, philosophy, and the natural sciences--and for the appropriately selected few, in the professions and vocations--would assure this Nation a healthy, alert, and loyal citizenry; and that these citizens would produce their own trustworthy and inspired leadership. As a consequence, the destiny of the Nation would be guaranteed.

The Common School, as the early public school was called, provided the children of all freemen a common education and a common induction into the adult world of politics and enterprise. The assumption was that the children would be sharing allegiances, commitments, concerns, and convictions, and that ultimately they would renew the ranks of their forebears who established this Nation.

These early convictions and assumptions represented more faith than foresight. They were expressions of a naive civic courage and a certainty that the verities would be universally accepted and practiced; that no man would demean another, not even a slave; that all men were of equal worth (providing they spoke the same language and were identifiable Christians); that they would give a "day's work for a day's pay"; and that they would respect the law of the land.

Education was seen as the "sovereign engine of democracy" and on the scantiest of evidence was expected to provide solutions to all the Nation's problems--social, civic, and private. So the schools flourished, everywhere at all levels, from the Little Red Schoolhouse to the land-grant college, in the teeming cities and on rural hillsides. Teachers were found or trained to teach whatever was needed to provide hands and minds for growing industries and institutions. All this was evidence that America was Arcadia Recreated, a great agrarian Motherland where even the industrial cities and seaports pulsed to the rhythms of the seasons, where every virtue was firmly anchored in the faith of the verdant countryside. This is the imprecise American Dream, illustrated by Norman Rockwell and recorded by Edna Ferber--not quite true to life, but close to hope, generous enough to excite an appetite for tomorrow, but ultimately treacherous in its differential generosity, for not all who are called are welcomed.

Current criticisms of the high school must be assessed in the perspective of the magnitude of the organizational and administrative task required to expand plant and services during the past two decades. Building, staffing, and organizing demanded first priority for leaders in secondary education. The criticism that high schools lack creativity, emphasize conformity and obedience to rules, are intellectually dull and joyless, and that they inhibit staff, student, and community participation in determining operational conditions has fallen upon deaf ears of those adults who work in them. While the emphasis--and the need--has been upon organizational order, the official language of educators has always been characterized by celebratory rhetoric in praise of creativity, intellectual discipline, and democracy. School leaders have wanted democratic participation, a curriculum that would enhance intellectual probing, and schools where the arts would rule. But they have always felt the pressures of a community whose first requirement called for the young to be housed in an orderly place at reasonable cost. Freedom has been seen as an ideal to be talked about, to be sought--but always within the constraints of sheltering, moving, and supervising large numbers of young people in ever larger buildings. So school administrators have been unhappy with what they have considered to be the unfairness of the critics. "How," has been their response, "do we teach groups of 25 or more students in 45-50 minute periods, 5 times a day, every working day of the week, in plants that house hundreds to thousands of adolescents? How do we perform our professional tasks and meet our societal commitment and not succumb to disorder and chaos among large and diverse groups?"

* * *

1. The Panel's first major observation of the American high school is a combination of appreciation for the almost completed monumental task of providing universal schooling for all adolescents, and the new understanding that in doing so educators have been compelled to focus their energies on managerial problems to the inevitable neglect of certain cherished purposes of education. That neglect has not been due to hostility to the educational goals, but rather to technical deficiencies in the means for achieving them, particularly under the constraints inherent in the size of the high school and its internal organization. The Panel rejects the widely held opinion that the high schools are citadels of reaction and are led and staffed by reactionary groups hostile and resistant to change.

A combination of several, mutually supportive principles and assumptions led to the centralization of high school education into ever larger plants: a) the efforts to provide greater diversity of curricular offerings to match the heterogeneity of the population served; b) the view that the school and its staff are responsible under the law of

in loco parentis for all-day supervisory care; c) the egalitarian impulse to serve all the youth of a community in a single school to avoid class segregation; d) the dedication to desegregation which increased school size; e) the assumption that economy of scale justified bigness; and f) the view that the school is the panacea for social ills, which added to its responsibilities.

Large high schools, organized for reasons of economy and tradition around the classroom unit, have tended to be inflexible in their capacity to adopt newer instructional forms and procedures. The recent history of efforts to deploy teachers in different instructional modes (e.g., team teaching, use of paraprofessionals, modules, and minischools) demonstrates the institutional rigidity inherent to bigness: the priorities of management must override the interest of clients. In the well-founded urge to foster a classless and egalitarian society the comprehensive high school was created and viewed as the single educative agency for "all the children of all the people," while the early 20th century urban development of specialized schools was rejected as tending to segregate students by socioeconomic class and intelligence. One expectation of this consolidating drive was that accommodating the broad range of talents in one plant would require a broader curriculum than smaller schools could provide. But that hope failed to produce the needed variety because every subject and learning activity was locked into a classroom model which imposed staffing requirements and costs that local resources could not meet. Thus for 40 years, the trend has been toward consolidating, regionalizing, and centralizing high schools in order to get population bases large enough to justify economically a wide range of curricular offerings. But the experience of recent years shows that classes of 25-30 students are not the only economic and effective way to organize instruction.

2. A second observation is that only in the last 25 years has the majority of teenagers, through high school attendance, been increasingly separated from significant contact with older adults, other than parents and teachers. The successful achievement of a high school experience for nearly every one has been accompanied by a decoupling of the generations--for the young, delayed entry into the real adult world, prolongation of the institutional controls of childhood, delay in the early transmission of adult culture patterns. As a result, a whole age cohort is left with minimum social controls, subject to rapid fad-like whims, enthusiasms, and imprecise adult models--in short, the teenager as caricature.

The Panel emphasizes that this separation of the generations results from the organizational assumptions on which the high schools were built. That is, the processes of education--to be validated, accredited, and recognized--had to occur in one institution. Education could have been decentralized to maintain and increase the early passage of adolescents into other learning situations that would include older adults. The critical

"rites of passage" throughout history have been pubertal rites signaling the assignment of adult status which involved participation in marriage, work, religion, and citizenship responsibilities. In prolonging youth's dependence the schools, inadvertently, have become social "aging vats" that have isolated adolescents and delayed their opportunity to learn adult roles, work habits, and skills. The Panel will, nevertheless, recommend neither a return to yesterday's more exclusive high school nor a retreat to a lower age for compulsory schooling. Rather, it will suggest new educational settings to supplement the high school which will include the enrollment of older adults; it will also recommend shortening the school day to encourage earlier work opportunities complementary to schooling.

3. The Panel has also observed that during the first 70 years of the 20th century while the high schools were experiencing their extraordinary growth, the onset of puberty for males and females has been occurring at an ever younger age--in fact 2 years earlier for today's adolescents than for their grandparents. While this earlier physical maturation is universal in the technologically advanced countries representing Western Civilization and is generally credited to improved diet, a parallel growth in intellectual potential can logically be assumed. Nevertheless, the high schools retain controls and supervisory practices more in keeping with the costly custodial care of masses of children in large institutions than with developing the potentials and increasing maturity for self-direction of young adults. The schools baby-sit, at very high cost during the day, the Nation's nighttime baby-sitters.

4. The Panel is convinced that the heterogeneity of adolescence is greater than the present institutional structures of secondary education can encompass. Awareness of this heterogeneity has led educators to make costly efforts to add programs, diversify courses, and extend services within the existing institution or parallel to it. Such efforts often result in the creation of minischools, schools without walls, open schools, alternative schools, optimal programs, internships, parallel courses, independent study, free schools, and apprentice and action learning. All of these undertakings represent efforts to develop educational settings, courses, and programs, in some degree external to the physical plant of the conventional school.

Some of the creators of these "alternative schools" are motivated by revolutionary hostility to the existing society and its institutions. Others are motivated by a concern for the damage they believe schools do to children. Others question racist patterns of traditional schools. Some see the internal organization of present schooling as requiring a subservient role for the student, a role designed to produce the docility deemed appropriate for future factory employment. Others question the intellectual shallowness of the curriculum and resultant learning. Still others, including members of the Panel, suggest that the decentralization of

secondary education is imperative today. One strategy would give program recognition and approval to smaller groupings of young adults who, together with teachers and other adults in the community, choose to plan and create substructures for learning. Such efforts will make it possible to celebrate human differences by encouraging the productive expression of these differences.

Recent experience with alternative school and learning environments demonstrates that such miniinstitutions have a high mortality rate. They tend to attract a narrow range of clienteles, reinforcing none-too-latent racial, segregationist, and elitist tendencies. Learning goals tend to be fudged and achievement is difficult to measure. Administration becomes complicated, and responsibilities for outcomes remain cloudy and anxiety-ridden. But the Panel sees promise of bringing a halt to the conglomerating of the high school and other adolescent-serving centers which adds constantly more of society's ills to their instructional burdens.

5. The Panel also observed that education for citizenship, one of the oldest purposes of schooling, has stopped short of needed measures. From the earliest assumption that social knowledge, particularly history, would provide a basis for effective citizenship in a republic, to the World War I addition of civics education in the simple structures of government (i.e., the Federal Government is divided into three branches), to the efforts of social scientists in the 1960s to introduce a curriculum based upon understanding the methodology of social research, there has been recognition of the need for realistic experience with civic models which could define and recommend appropriate civic behavior. But little technical proficiency in closing the gap between classroom study and active citizenship has been developed. Student participation in school management has been kept at a safe distance from the real discharge of responsibility, again, more out of the constraints inherent in the management of overlarge institutions than in philosophic hostility to democratic concepts. The inflated language of educational goals has tended to obscure the disjunction of practice from preachment.

6. General support, and Federal subsidy, for high school vocational education remains high. Reviews of the research literature show that vocational education's favorable position is enjoyed more out of expectation than performance. Investigators report that graduates of vocational programs tend <u>not</u> to be employed in the field of their training, that their earnings do not exceed those of nonvocational students, that materials and equipment used and skills taught in vocational courses tend to be out-of-date, and that little effort is made to relate training to job needs or to provide help in placement. Little recognition seems to have been given to the fact that 50 percent or more of the high school population is already in the "labor force." The evidence indicates that youth are employed heavily in part-time and entry-level jobs. The subtle mechanisms which accomplish this huge job-finding and placement task seem to be informal, through social

and familial grapevines, rather than through the ministrations of either school guidance agencies or the U.S. Employment Service. The latter claims responsibility for "less than 1 percent of the job placements for employed youth."

Unemployment figures for high school youth are generally double national figures, while for blacks and the urban young the figure is at least doubled. Both employment opportunities and knowledge of job openings tend to be restricted in the inner city. The evidence strongly indicates that youth's successful employment is a matter of opportunity. Adolescents want to work.

7. During the colonial years and the 19th century the assumption was that schools were but one of society's educative institutions, with the family, the church, and local agencies that offered involvement in community affairs sharing roles as coordinate instructors and shapers of the young. During this century the schools have been given--and have assumed--an ever-increasing share of the responsibility for education and the redress of society's ills. American's early abiding faith that the school is a social and economic escalator, which overcomes the injustices of race, hereditary wealth, and class, is currently under assault. Evidence shows that school achievement is influenced more by family, social, and economic status than by all other factors, including the schools, normally considered significant in affecting learning. Additionally, the schools are accused of being ineffective in reducing differences in wealth and its distribution in society. Both concepts go against the long-held belief that more schooling means more income and higher job status. The Panel noted that Dewey's injunction to "Beware the argument that proves too much" would apply here. While other factors, primarily family, social, and economic status, may be more decisive than the schools alone in determining academic success and economic rewards, nevertheless the schools' effect upon even a small percentage of so large a population group is an extraordinary phenomenon. If schooling is only partially responsible for a social and economic meritocracy, it seems clear that limiting access to schools for 80 percent or more of the population in the rest of the world cuts off even this much social and economic mobility. The problem then is not to restrict current schooling by reducing compulsory age requirements (nearly 40 percent of the high school population attends voluntarily now), but to increase the power and consequences of education--to discover and train talents and skills through programs that supplement the present marginal consequences of the school.

8. The Panel's concluding observations deal with the governance of the schools, and their limitations and needs as initiators and managers of change. Local boards of education have been under considerable stress. Their historical isolation from conventional political affairs has also severely handicapped their capacity to deal cooperatively with other

governmental agencies and programs. In addition, the high school as an administrative unit has been one of the more severely assaulted institutions of our times. Unresolved community racial tensions have been at their most abrasive in the high school. Blatant racism and violence have subsided, but the management of the large American high school in the past decade has been an exercise in survival. Viewed from the standpoint of community stability and social conservatism, the administrators of the schools should be commended. Viewed from the standpoint of radical change, the same management can be seen as repressive, "jail-like," and reactionary. The Panel observes that we have exacerbated the schools' burdens with race relations through too heavy a reliance on them as the nearly exclusive agency for reducing antagonisms and by their unnecessarily large size. Failure to plan multiple programs of education through other agencies and media leaves the schools with more responsibilities than they can discharge. Operating plants that house upwards of a thousand students are not, in the Panel's judgment, optimal settings for improving intergroup and interpersonal relations. Once more the institutional imperatives of orderly movement and peaceful custody that result from sheer mass of numbers make efforts toward humane considerations of individuals difficult.

It is not surprising to find, therefore, that there are additional limitations upon the schools as instruments to inaugurate and manage their own reform. Rigorous analysis of current conditions resulting in hard data is difficult to find in the professional literature. Establishing base lines against which to measure change is seldom undertaken. Criteria to evaluate increments of improvement and appropriate techniques employing them have yet to produce effective instruments for monitoring change. These and other tools of the system designer are appearing in the language of a few proposals for special funding, but not in the operating precincts of the schools.

Perhaps the best way to summarize the observations of the Panel is to see them as leading to a call for comprehensive education through complementary arrangements and linkages among many organizations including schools. The Panel would shift the emphasis away from the comprehensive school toward comprehensive education, arguing that the confines of one building are no longer enough to contain all the valuable and necessary experiences for today's young person. What is needed is greater diversity in formal education which reflects the actual diversity of the learning situations and the variety of experience that living in today's world demands. If a goal of formal education institutions is the creation of the best learning environment, then education must ask, "What are the best situations in which learning can take place?" not "How do we fit such learning situations into the school?"

Last, but of major significance, the 20th century view of the schools as the sole vehicle for education leaves proposals and programs for reform as intramural exercises inside the high school. It would be preferable that they be community-based government supported programs, which marshal resources, provide citizen commitment, and assure performance-assessed criteria for testing our fundamental educational assumptions.

Chapter 2

MAJOR RECOMMENDATIONS

1. That the unattained practice and inadequate concept of the comprehensive high school be replaced with the more practical goal of providing comprehensive education through a variety of means including the schools.

The concept of the comprehensive high school has sought to impose on a single institution all the variations in programs and services required to serve the needs of an extraordinarily diverse population. The result is oversized institutions increasingly difficult to manage, artificially held to narrow pedagogic practices, overburdened with custodial responsibility, and isolated from the community.

The tradition of keeping the schools free from political meddling in order to protect the curriculum and the staff from the baleful effects of vested interests and patronage have unfortunately reinforced the isolation of the schools from all other educational enterprises. This has tended to keep understanding of education narrowed to that which could take place only in a school. The powerful dynamic to learning which comes from direct experience has accordingly been vitiated in an overemphasis on the classroom as the sole place for learning. The Panel sees no incompatibility between moving appropriate segments of education into a closer relationship to the community while maintaining the political immunity of the schools. There will be risks, but the need to bring greater realism and social engagement to the education of adolescents warrants the move.

2. That educational programs be inaugurated for the joint participation of adolescents and other interested and qualified adults in the community--pedagogical programs which may be designated Participatory Education (learning by doing what is socially useful, personally satisfying, and health-supporting for the individual and the community).

The Panel sees three major areas of education that lend themselves to such combined participation--education in the arts, vocational education, and education in the operations of government.

For educating in the arts the Panel recommends creation of a community arts center closely associated with the high school. Governed and sponsored by a community council for the arts, the center would provide facilities and support for all the arts and crafts for which sustaining interest was forthcoming. Local amateurs and professionals, voluntary assistants, and paid personnel would compete for program space for

instruction in sculpturing, dancing, photography, weaving, painting, drama, interior design, and macrame for day and night programs. By enrolling adolescents and other more mature adults, including grandparents, the reintegration of the generations should bring new vitality to learning, to the arts, and to community cohesion in activities where age is the most irrelevant criterion for participation.

The Panel recommends the creation of a community career education center. This agency would be the vehicle for new forms of vocational education such as reducing emphasis upon job training in the high school and increasing work experience, on-the-job training, job finding resources, and career information activities, all located and carried on in the community. The Panel urges the removal of those regulations, except for safety and health regulations, including tax and insurance penalties, that handicap and limit the employment of adolescents. The Panel does not urge the special reduction of the minimum wage law. Using youth to displace the marginally employed, the old, and the handicapped or as a competitive source of cheap labor is a disservice to both the economy and to education. With half the high school age group already in the work force the Panel's suggestions seek to facilitate the growth of employment opportunities for still more young people as a necessary adjunct to formal education. It is in the market place that post pubertal youth has traditionally learned economic responsibility, the abc's of job-holding diplomacy, and of new adult roles beyond the models of family and school. The Panel is not arguing the virtues of the work ethic; it is recommending elimination of the artificial delay in education for maturity which the segregated grouping of the high school has innocently imposed. The Panel sees the need for coordination between federally supported manpower training programs and much of the vocational education provided in the schools. Given the startlingly poor results found by cost-benefit studies of conventional vocational education, the Panel recommends that Federal and State subsidies for inschool shop classes be made transferable at local option to various on-the-job training, job placement, and job subsidy programs.

The Panel recommends that adolescents, in addition to the academic study of the social sciences and their methodology, should be involved in government--in all appropriate agencies within the larger community. (The preparation of citizens for a republic is as central to the concept of education for us as it was for Plato.) The involvement should be diverse: as volunteers, including internships to specific positions; as aides; as part-time employees at appropriate wage scales; and as observers for short-term study assignments tied to school seminars and classes.

In addition, schools themselves must be collateral training places for such immediate participation in society. Student participation with faculty and administration in the affairs of the school that affect students should not be a governance charade under adult sufferance. New models of

responsibility for youth are imperative. If schools are managed by fiat, they train citizens in docility, revolt, or indifferent submission. The goal is selfhood and active citizenship, which cannot be served or reached by persons unengaged in the conduct of their lives. A self-governing republic requires much of its members. They must be willing and able to serve themselves and their commonwealth.

The schools need to be the laboratories-for-error in learning the roles of citizens. This means realistic participation in the operation and management of the school. It is the only fail-safe institution available for learning the consequences of neglect, venality, and the appeals of power. Studied experiments in such consequences should be part of the school's curriculum in citizenship.

Finally, every community needs a permanent group of citizen volunteers, including adolescents, whose functions should be to observe, investigate, and to report publicly on all government operations, not as tattletales but as concerned citizens. Their range of concerns would be all that local interests combined with talent could sustain. But the function of citizen inquiry into government needs reinforcement, and the leaven of older adults with adolescents' idealism should be helpful to the political health of any town (and safeguards that students do not become "Red guards").

One cannot teach about, learn about, or experience citizenship without behaving politically. One cannot care about the consequences of public behavior, of public policy decisions, without having developed an "engaged" political sense. Therefore, a pedagogy of citizenship is essential and should be required for all institutions of adolescent education, which would have among its outcomes, civility, caring, cooperativeness, nonaversive criticism, and emphasis on lively concern for the common good in real situations, in and out of school.

3. That small, flexible, short-term, part-time schools be established and made available to all who are qualified and interested.

For example, a writers school open daily in the afternoon and evening could offer small seminars and tutorial sessions staffed by professional writers and teachers in journalism, poetry, drama, fiction, political advocacy, and related fields. If talents and interests warranted, programs could be sponsored in mathematics, astronomy, and nature study, as well as in the many other fields of human learning.

The administration of new centers and activities for education must not be imposed upon the existing high school. Independent operations whether supported in whole, part, or not at all by board of education tax resources will need coordinating relationships with each other. These

would range across a loose network from the mandatory, the cooperative, the contractual, to the autonomous and independent. Some activities using tax funds will under some circumstances be closely held to existing school controls, others will develop pragmatically as parallel operations that function best without hierarchical relationships.

4. That compulsory daily attendance be reduced from all-day sessions to an academic day of 2-4 hours.

Field observation confirms that the academic day for almost all students in the American high school is seldom less than 2 hours and rarely extends to 4 hours of formal instruction. It is a tired but apt observation that between infancy and adolescence the time spent in viewing television greatly exceeds time spent in school. As a single illustration, time devoted by schools to health and diet education, when measured against the time of exposure to television and the drum-roll impact of its commercials for everything including synthetic cereals and proprietary drugs, makes reliance on schools in such instances as the sole educator at best naive; at worst a form of malpractice.

On the operational theory of gradualism, the Panel recommends such initial steps as curtailing all-day attendance requirements for seniors; then, as experience warrants, including other grade levels. Shortening the school day without providing complementary educational activities in the community with other adults is not recommended.

With a high school academic day of 2-4 hours, every adolescent on some days of the week could be deeply involved in one or more "schools" or programs or work or service as a coequal part of his or her education. Real learning takes intensity and time. A 2 to 4 hour day is a necessary concentration of effort by the musician, football player, dancer, politician, or scientist. The present all-day high school is a costly intruder on this need for both time and program variety. The Panel sees these new institutions and programs as complementary rather than as competitive alternatives. Hopefully the number of out-of-school options will exceed by far any individual's available time.

5. That the basic role of the high school as society's only universal institution for the education of the intellect be reemphasized.

By casting off all the extraneous activities and responsibilities that have accrued through the years, the Panel believes the resources of the high school can be concentrated in the areas of maturing intellectual competency such as learning to write clear prose, becoming proficient in the arithmetic of handling and budgeting money, learning to use the resources of the public library, and to assemble information from a variety of sources germane to an area of personal and community concern. These and

more are essential skills susceptible to school training. The Panel is cautiously in agreement that rationality, orderly inquiry, the patient accumulation of skills, the ability to test ideas, the capacity for measuring current experience against the insights provided by literature and history, the rare and wonderful teacher who can become the right mentor and model, all are more likely to occur in a formal school than in any other "arranged" learning environment or within the tribal occasions of "peer groups." Directing the focus of the high school's efforts on them, however, will come only with the reduction in the "global" goals of secondary education. Some ancillary functions and services that are not centrally educative and supportive of the high school's mission must be carefully removed. Functional descriptions of literacy and tests for such performance must be created. Charge the schools with teaching all citizens how to "read" the press, the periodicals, the radio, the cinema, television, and each other. Education through the media is at least as powerfully formative of attidues as formal schooling and may be more decisive in setting values, tastes, public behavior standards, and the consumer habits of the economy. Americans are too accustomed to school courses whose outcomes are inferred though rarely assured. For example, it is assumed that the study of history will add to a citizen's capacity to understand current affairs; it is assumed that the study of a foreign language will produce some conversational competence in that tongue as well as some degree of affection for those for whom the language is native; it is assumed that the study of mathematics beyond arithmetic computation will train the mind in logic, inference, and the difference between inductive and deductive reasoning. But the evidence is heavily to the contrary. The Panel hopes that the removal of nonacademic "fat" will result in a needed lean and earnest devotion to the development of a maturing intellect.

6. That a community guidance center be established, which would house such qualified personnel as counselors, psychologists, social workers, and technicians in the construction, administration and analysis of tests and other evaluative procedures who now work in the high school and other agencies.

The new center, independent of educational agencies, would serve as an evaluator of educational results obtained from whatever source. With opportunities for learning available from school, work, study, the media, and community service, it is important to develop and locate the means for accrediting acquired competencies and skills in an agency where allegiance is to the learner and not to the instructional source. Employers and colleges are under pressure from the courts and from experienced and responsible critics to recognize that Carnegie unit transcripts are less predictive of success on the job or in school than direct statements descriptive of a candidate's relevant proficiencies. The new agency, established to serve as evaluator and ombudsman, will bring a greater degree of realism to the efforts of all educational programs including those

of the school. Moving youth in and out of high school on part-time, full-time, and intermittent schedules creates the need for a coordinating organization discharging the responsibility we usually subsume under the term in loco parentis. This kind of organization would coordinate the movement of adolescents through time and space into relationships with the organizations in which instruction and planned learning take place. It would guide that movement (or arrange for such guidance). It would maintain prudential concern for where students are during their "school" hours and be concerned with the evaluation of learning. But rather than being the educational delivery service, its function would be to arrange for delivery of service: scheduling, evaluating, registering, monitoring, and continuously communicating information on adolescent education to their students, their teachers, and the public.

7. That local educational agencies understand that all the preceding recommendations are to be considered as working hypotheses to be rigorously tested through small-scale adaptations, careful monitoring, and ruthless evaluation.

The Panel cautions against the enthusiastic installation of several programs in any one community too rapidly. Education and the schools, always subject to fads, have been victimized severely these past 15 years by panaceas overly sold and paid for with "outside" public and private money and inside psychic chagrin. The Panel urges deliberate caution and patience and the avoidance of the "pilot program" impulse to try once and reject.

8. That recognition be given to the fact that adult and adolescent citizen participation in planning and reviewing change in education is vital to the installation and maintenance of needed reform.

The present boards of education need strong infusions of broader representation and local support. All government today is being viewed with some suspicion and local taxes are being increasingly resented. As a nation, we are in danger of reacting from 200 years of expecting too much from schools to a resignation that demands too little. Change without the leaven of proprietary understanding by the citizenry is in these days a fragile thing, and change whose form and substance have been predetermined by school leaders makes the participation of citizens, teachers, and students a manipulative charade. Rather, the Panel urges that its recommendations be seen as general concepts in need of critical analysis and design for adaptation to local circumstances. Skepticism is a trait in need of cultivation in education.

For example, local analysis may verify the Panel's observation that the present use of staff is inefficient, resulting from a school day of 6-7 hours of which only 2-4 hours are devoted to formal learning. But

to jump to the conclusion that reducing the school day by one half is the whole answer would in the view of the Panel be hazardous. The presumed savings in staff time or their deployment, in building space, and the need for bonding new construction, as well as the additional employment of adolescents all need local documentation. There are undoubtedly many communities where many of these predictable consequences will occur if the all-day, closed campus control of students is ended. But there are no circumstances where the Panel would urge such a decision without parallel supportive actions. Factors to be studied include busing requirements for the intermittent arrival and departure of blocks of students throughout an extended day-night schedule, new and added employment opportunities in government and business, other planned programs to counter potential idleness, and parent reactions to the end of all-day custodial care. Accordingly, we see the decision to reduce the compulsory length of the school day as a good example of the interlocking domino nature of educational change that mandates comprehensive planning to replace the piecemeal adoption of fads.

Therefore, the Panel recommends that citizen and student participation in the governance of education be extended to all new institutions and programs. Public vigilance is a necessary counter to the ever present tendency for agencies to retreat from their original goals, and the continuing education in these affairs of all participants is essential.

The Panel recognizes that the American high school functions in an extraordinarily wide range of communities from the isolated, small rural village where the school is a major focus for adult group life to the urban, multithousand student labyrinth paradoxically isolated from the rich variety of other institutions such as museums, orchestras, social agencies, theatres, etc. Resources vary, facilities and distances in time and space for transportation range from the plentiful to the nonexistent. Boards of education and their relations with other general government agencies and political forces differ greatly. All these and more caution against the assumption that any single recommendation, or all taken together, is suited to every school district and region of this Nation.

9. <u>That the Federal Government through the U.S. Office of Education and the National Institute of Education sponsor research to provide local education agencies with the technical support needed for programs of change</u>.

There is always a dearth of refined information about student or teacher performance and programs. For example, the needed institutional program changes to accommodate teenage participants in the wide-ranging voluntary agencies in health and community service require test modeling. The conversion of teenage segregated programs conducted by the Boy Scouts, churches, and the Y's into adult programs may transform these groups into more vital activities.

The present state of research in the social and behavioral sciences stops short of translating the findings into operating models derived from pilot programs. NIE's Experimental Schools are pioneering the development of narrative accounts of local school change programs. Such case studies of change with added criticisms and analysis are vitally needed in education as guides for practicing administrators. Research without field testing is of little use to the work-a-day world of the schools.

Too little is known about social structures involving adolescents and older adults working together in learning arrangements or in action-oriented organizations. The public is hierarchically minded and therefore most accustomed to status relationships based upon wealth, class, power, sex, race, and age than to peer groupings which develop an internal meritocracy based upon task performance. Freedom is recognized as relief from or absence of abuse. But citizens are less able to understand their roles when freedom requires them to change their impositions on those with subordinate or vulnerable status. Subtle dominance and submission patterns of personal behavior are culturally taught in social and institutional settings. Teaching interpersonal relations where the basis is peer centered and democratic is less successful. This is strikingly apparent when adolescents or the poor or the representatives of newly recognized minorities meet to work with established agencies. There is wisdom in the group that discovers its group-identity. Research studies of the dynamics of behavior, the rewards and sanctions of human interactions are critically needed. Adults don't know how to work effectively with adolescents in increasingly adult patterns. Good will and doctrinaire notions of egalitarian ideals may be helpful but are inadequate to the needs and strains of the times, and the politics of confrontation is costly and insensitive to the problems that must always be faced.

Research is needed in how to plan new social institutions for learning. New places for education are needed. Architects and engineers can blueprint the physical plant. But the parallel blueprinting of the operational parameters of a new institution is a technical art undeveloped in education--beyond the table of organization, job descriptions, presumed outcomes, and appropriate budget. For example, the Panel found no research with significant findings to rank one organizational pattern over another. Four-year high schools vs. three-year schools, middle schools, six-year schools or three-year schools, all lack a validating research base. Similarly, the constant appearance of the term "team-teaching" in project applications for Federal and State funding would lead to the faulty conclusion that in practice the required skills and behaviors for successful application were available and known. In fact, extensive field observations indicate the reverse is true. The written and conversational language of team teachers contains many of the chapter headings that analysis of the concept would require. But little depth or understanding of the complex status shifts

that successful operation of this pedagogical design requires is apparent or available. The changed roles of students with each other and with the staff are not forecast and planned. They happen, and not always for the best! Accordingly, outcome measures are vague. The real internal workings of this instructional system come to bear little relationship to the original and simplistic descriptions. And participants are burdened abrasively in working through patterns of relationships for which no professional guides are available.

Research is needed to develop instruments and techniques for the evaluation of outcomes, more complex than the present group tests of the elementary academic skills. Tests are needed which give precision to measures of mastery of each of a series of skills and understandings that together represent a hierarchy of competency. Techniques for evaluating growing maturity in interpersonal behavior are needed, and their development is beyond the ability of local educational agencies.

Research in the constitution of the staff and organization needed to develop and manage change at the local level is needed. The present structure including State departments, boards of education, central office administrators, teachers organizations and parent groups have all come into being as participants in an historically derived organization. All exist and are trained in their roles as managers or participants, not for their functions as designers of change. Accordingly, one finds that improvisation and patched-on functions are the rule. Rare is the recognition that the management of change needs new strategies and scenarios for new roles to govern itself.

Dynamic, graphic, and dramatic films and tapes for each of the several basic subjects of the traditional high school should be developed for television in all its forms so that schools for adolescents can become centers of productive inquiry. What has been done for reading with Sesame Street and is now being developed for college science needs to be undertaken at the high school and community college levels. Instructional patterns using TV broadcasts should include such variations as the weekly seminar, tutorial access, supplemental reading, and accreditation procedures.

10. That Federal support and State review be provided for the costs of planning and evaluation of programs designed to bring adolescents and adults together for learning and work.

Such federally supported planning should require evidence of student and citizen participation, new and augmented roles for other agencies in addition to the schools, including shared budget responsibilities, and a table of organization. Provide Federal funds for that portion of operating costs attributed to startup needs and all the costs of an intensive evaluation over a period of 3 to 5 years. Do not provide Federal funds for program

support. Do require trade-off decisions between old programs and new. Requiring a documentary case history with a critical review is a necessary tool for improving the local administration of change as well as serving the need for disseminating usable results.

11. That Federal funds be provided to establish a national recruitment training and technical support program for operational planning teams to be established at the local level.

The operational planning teams (OPT) are staff planners to serve boards of education and chief school officers. Drawn from specialists in systems analysis and design, sociology, political science, and secondary school administration, they will be trained to design new community programs in education.

* * *

The education for adolescents that is immanent in this report must be more than a parcel of real estate, more than a building, more than a focus of community attention and contention. It is social process and civic function with one central pedagogic purpose: the safe passage of our youth into adulthood and the citizen's estate.

Chapter 3

THE ADOLESCENT AS A FULL AND RESPONSIBLE MEMBER OF SOCIETY

Adolescence is a crucial and precious period of human development, and a time of competing needs. There is the need for preparation for the inevitable responsibility of adulthood, the room to experiment with lifestyle, the time to discover self. There is, as well, the need for the kind of challenging experiences which insure development rather than stagnation or mindless repetition of unrewarding tasks.

The Panel largely agreed that youth are treated as a special category of persons--adolescents--and that the laws governing their admission into adult activities are an irrational accumulation based upon tradition, political expediency, and the widespread perception of adolescents as infants. For example, the various States have differing laws governing the age by sex for marriage, for voting, for owning property, for work by classification, for legal responsibility for crime, for drinking, for smoking, for attending school, and for attending motion pictures. Adolescence is a period which is little respected by adults; "adolescent behavior" is a term frequently used in a pejorative sense.

Recent evidence from physiology and psychology suggests, however, that the rationale for such attitudes towards adolescents should be reexamined and redirected. For a variety of reasons, including better nutritional, parental, and medical care, and better housing, children in the United States today are maturing more rapidly. Physiologically they are reaching adulthood 2½ to 3½ years earlier than their forebears did 100 years ago and 2 years earlier than their grandparents born at the turn of the 20th century. Yet, while youth are maturing faster, the average age at which they are allowed to assume adult responsibilities seems to be increasingly delayed. Careers now begin later, for example. Thus the physical maturity of adolescents gives them the capacity to engage in many activities on a par with adults. And more of them seem to be choosing to exercise this capacity where they are allowed--as in certain types of athletics (Olympic, etc.) --as well as where society discourages them--as in sexual activity and use of drugs.

Many writers [1, 2, 3] have commented upon the degree to which contemporary adolescents have many kinds of experiences much sooner than the youth of earlier generations. This seemingly premature sophistication contrasts sharply with the popular conception of adolescents. The books which are avidly read by young people deal with adult subjects, the works of Kurt Vonnegut, Jr., and Joseph Heller,

for example. Many of the social activities which used to be popular in high schools, such as proms and other dances, seem to have found new popularity among junior students while losing their appeal for older youth. The consistently large number of children born to teenagers (779,000 in 1967 for women aged 15-19)[4] reflects a sophistication of experience, as does the extensive participation of youth in activities which manifest a concern for the general quality of life on the planet. The interest is reflected in public opinion polls which indicate that the Vietnam war, crime, violence, and ecology (population growth as well as pollution) are major areas of concern among high school students.[5] Perhaps most significant is the fact that today's adolescents have proclaimed their own culture--a youth culture or counterculture--which they see as largely separate from and superior to that of adults. While one may question the extent of its reality, the self-conscious character of this culture is evidence of increased experiential maturity.

This adolescent sense of maturity is substantiated by recent psychological findings. In his summary of research in this area for the Panel, Sheldon White[6] contends that a large portion of the literature about adolescence treats this period as a cumulation or peak of development. This is true not only of research on physical, sexual, and neurological development; the data on intelligence, problem-solving, and cognitive and moral development report a peaking and leveling off in adolescence also. Many theories view adolescence as a final stage in development. One theory[7] suggests that fluid intelligence (the ability to perceive complex relations, form concepts, etc.) tends to peak in adolescence and then gradually decrease, while the more concrete and culture-specific crystallized intelligence continues to develop into old age. Other theories[8] suggest that the stage of "formal operations" in cognitive development takes place in adolescence--if it takes place at all. Finally, research has indicated that political socialization is related to cognitive development, as is moral development. While the evidence is not conclusive about the occurrence of emotional maturity, it causes one to question the prevailing wisdom that adolescents are not capable of a more stable, mature outlook on life than either society or the schools encourage.

The treatment of adolescents in schools is similar to that they receive in the rest of society; in fact, schools are the primary institutions for the age grouping of youth. For most of each working day, adolescents are physically isolated from the rest of the community in structures where at least half--those under 17--must remain by law. Within the schools themselves one finds the most comprehensive age grouping ever developed in society. Although there are teachers and administrators who represent different age groups, they are engaged in activities fundamentally different from those of the students.

From the adolescents' point of view, life in school seems to be predicated on a judgment that they can't be trusted to take care of themselves.

The roots of the treatment of school children are historically traceable to the early public schools, which were characterized by strong discipline and respect for learning. They were also the preserve of very few adolescents--less than 5 percent of the age group before 1900--since the majority worked on farms or in factories.

The development of mass education brought many changes in school administration, but remarkably few in the treatment of adolescents. As Kraushaar[9] observes, "With mass education came the trend toward the stereotyping of individuals, the professionalization of teaching, bureaucratic control, compulsory education laws, the prescription of minimal standards, and the complex apparatus of accreditation, certification, and credentialism." This created a situation in which authoritarianism pervaded the classroom as it did the workplace.[10] The similarity was observed in 1911 by Frederick Winslow Taylor, the inventor of time and motion efficiency studies on the assembly line:

> No schoolteacher would think of telling children in a general way to study a certain book or subject. It is practically universal to assign each day a definite lesson beginning on one specified page and line and ending on another; and the best progress made. . . when a definite study hour or period can be assigned in which the lesson must be learned. Most of us remain, through a great part of our lives, in this respect, grown-up children, and do our best only under pressure of a task of comparatively short duration.[11]

The treatment of adolescents implied in this statement was definitely not an independent invention of malevolent school administrators. The public schools, by law, functioned in loco parentis. This responsibility included rigid attendance rules, locked doors, closed campuses, a fixed day, attendance by period, by the room, 6 times a day; a required eating place, required clothing styles, and hair styles. The situation has been basically paternalistic. The teachers and the principal saw themselves as being held directly responsible for the order and social decorum demanded by the community.

Schools have had in the past, and continue to have, a custodial style largely because they are seen as custodial institutions by much of the general public. Adolescents are children who are to be kept off the streets and out of the labor market. Within the school the student is given limited options about how to spend his or her time, with little freedom for the kind of social peer experience that young people strongly desire. A single pattern of behavior is

rewarded--that of academic excellence, the hallmark of which is more often obedience than independent thought. Perhaps most enervating is the system of rules and procedures which dominate inschool life, and which the adolescent has seldom had an opportunity to participate in developing.

The treatment of adolescents as dependents needing direction and guidance from supervising adults, in fact, tends to retard their maturity. Yet precipitate removal of all constraints can lead to personal bewilderment and a sense of incompetence bordering on the traumatic. What seems clear is that present secondary schools have unnecessarily prolonged modes of operation which have not kept pace with the maturation of the adolescent population. Keeping youth in infant bondage destroys their capacity to assume responsibility for the consequences of their acts at an age appropriate to their physiological and psychological development.

In recent years the effects of this historical treatment, growing out of the perceptions of the function of the school, have been exacerbated by the development of larger and larger school units. The trend towards consolidation has created a situation where there are now one-quarter as many school districts as there were in the 1920s. (Between 1967-73 the total number of public school districts decreased from 20,404 to 16,960.) In 1968 more than 55 percent of secondary school students were enrolled in schools with more than 1,000 students. While this trend towards consolidation has resulted in some benefits, it has also caused undesirable side-effects, commonly referred to as "big-school problems."

Larger and larger schools have appeared partly as a reflex response to the rapid population growth in certain areas. This reflex, combined with a cultural value system which stresses "bigness is goodness," created a tendency to choose bigness regularly. This process was given the stamp of approval in James B. Conant's The American High School Today.[12] Conant's comments about size stress minimum numbers rather than maximums. However, the thrust of many of his other recommendations (which call for expanded programs) seems to be predicated upon increased size. In his second report, which he called The Comprehensive High School, he wrote:

> To my mind a widely comprehensive high school should as a minimum meet the following five criteria:
>
> 1. Provide instruction in calculus;
> 2. Provide instruction in a modern foreign language for 4 years;

3. Arrange the schedule so that a student may study in any one year English, mathematics, science, a foreign language, social studies, physical education, art, or music;
4. Provide one or more advanced placement courses;
5. Have enough English teachers so that the 'average pupil load' is 120 or less. (I stand by my recommendation in The American High School Today that the student load should be no more than 100, as I make clear later.)[13]

As Turner and Thrasher[14] observe, Conant does not suggest the possibility that large schools might have negative consequences. Conant is not alone in being responsible for this situation: The President's Commission on National Goals[15] projected goals for high school curriculums which added support to the big school movement.

The basic rationale for the large high school was the notion of "comprehensiveness." In his introduction to The American High School Today, John Gardner explains:

> The focus of Mr. Conant's study is the "comprehensive" high school--a peculiarly American phenomenon. It is called comprehensive because it offers, under one administration and under one roof (or series of roofs), secondary education for almost all the high school age children of one town or neighborhood. It is responsible for educating the boy who will be an atomic scientist and the girl who will marry at 18; the prospective captain of a ship and the future captain of industry. . . It is responsible, in sum, for providing good and appropriate education, both academic and vocational, for all young people within a democratic environment which the American people believe serves the principles they cherish.[16]

The comprehensive high school was indeed viewed as a unique "American invention" and its virtues were widely extolled. Conant, Gardner, and others in a position to influence educational policy argued that the comprehensive high school was the solution to the educational problems raised by Sputnik, by the 1950s critics of education (Rickover,[17] Bestor,[18] etc.), and by developing needs of society.

In 1975 it is clear that the concept of the comprehensive high school has not solved all the problems of adolescent education. Indeed, it seems to have increased them. To see how this is so, one must look at the rationale behind the comprehensive school. Three important benefits were expected--the financial, the educational, and

the social. The financial argument was simply based on the premise that one large structure was cheaper than several small ones. Educationally, it was assumed that the large comprehensive school would be able to provide a greater breadth of course offerings and would therefore meet both the varied educational needs of individual students and the diverse needs of different students. The social benefits would flow from the comprehensive school as a major democratizing instrument of society, functioning in two ways: First, it would have a democratizing effect on its students by exposing them to all social classes so that they would be better prepared to live effectively in a pluralistic society. Second, it would provide "equal educational opportunity"; all students would have equal access to all studies, educational honors, and achievement, since all school activities would occur in the same place. This "egalitarian" thrust of the comprehensive high school has a powerful appeal for the American public and for school professionals. Unfortunately, increasing evidence indicates that the large, comprehensive school has not been naturally money-saving, educationally advantageous, or broadly socializing and egalitarian.

Turner and Thrasher[19] demonstrate that when enrollment rises above 1,000 students, the comprehensive high school's cost per pupil declines little, while there is abundant evidence that the educational effectiveness of such institutions decreases with size. There is legitimate reason to believe that the huge stone and cement fortresses built in central cities cost more than smaller structures to serve the same number of students. Mounting evidence shows that as long as education is considered strictly as a process which goes on in a place called a classroom housing a number of adolescents and one teacher for a strictly prescribed amount of time (one period), increasing the teacher-pupil ratio is a very poor strategy for saving money. The additional administrative personnel required by increasing school size often seems to raise the managing staff-to-student ratio without affecting the teacher-to-student ratio; thus, in order to save costs, even larger classes have to be instituted. In sum, the big school saves money only at the cost of a greatly reduced educational effectiveness.

The argument that the comprehensive high school by its nature would provide a greater breadth of course offerings and thus meet the needs of all students also proves defective. Turner and Thrasher comment:

> While the diversity of programs has been provided in many high schools, the prestige centers in the college preparatory offering. The relative lack of importance of other programs in the minds of parents, teachers, and administrators acts as a pressure upon students to elect this course. . . The time,

> money, and effort is directed toward providing the college-bound course.[20]

True comprehensiveness would mean, minimally, an equal conceptual emphasis on all of the different offerings, but many school administrators recognized what was implicit in Conant's recommendations --the important reason to be comprehensive was to benefit the college-bound student.

> To many school authorities, the concept of a comprehensive high school is limited to comprehensiveness within the college prep offering. We might call them believers in limited comprehensiveness.[21]

What emerged was rhetoric of broadness in a situation where students knew that the college preparatory goal was really "where it's at" in the eyes of school authorities and the adult world.

In sum, the large comprehensive high school has failed to provide true breadth of courses, either because comprehensiveness is applied in only one area (college prep) or because the courses which were supposedly offered to broaden student options really attracted only students with a negative self-image.

Experience, then, seems to contradict the third argument for the comprehensive school--that by its very nature it was an egalitarian experience, and that the social effect of the school would be to reinforce democracy.

The comprehensive school seems to emphasize the class and racial differences in society. Merely bringing all these elements under one roof on the assumption that this action will counteract successfully the effects of stratification in society is naive at best. The evidence indicates that the comprehensive high school serves to <u>reinforce</u> the class and race stratification of society. Experience shows, for example, that school peer groups form along class lines; that interclass and interrace frictions are exacerbated by the large school. For the working-class child, exposure to the lifestyle and opportunities of the middle-class child within the school is as likely to reinforce feelings of a personal doubt and antagonism as to alleviate them.[22]

The reasons for this effect are clear when one examines the other aspect of the comprehensive school "egalitarian" assumption--the notion that bringing all the students from the community into one building would insure them equal access to education and, with this equal access, the best students would "like cream, naturally rise to the top." In other words, the school would be the mechanism through

which society would insure that the disadvantages of one generation would not be passed on to the next--equal educational opportunity would insure equality in society.

The essential failure of the schools to provide this equal educational opportunity is the starting point of much of the recent social science controversy over education. The Coleman Report, Equality of Educational Opportunity, contains the following comment:

> Schools bring little influence to bear on a child's achievement that is independent of his background and general social context . . . this very lack of an independent effect means that the inequalities imposed on children by their home, neighborhood, and peer environment are carried along to become the inequalities with which they confront adult life at the end of school.[23]

The schools, then, instead of providing a situation which allows equal access to what is socially desirable, emphasize the existing social arrangements. In the words of Theodore Sizer,

> . . .academic achievement, as the profession and public now define it, correlates with income: the wealthier your parents are, the more likely you are to score high on tests. The schools, then, reinforce class structures; they legitimize, in an apparently objective manner, existing social arrangements.[24]

In other words, the schools perpetuate class divisions instead of having an egalitarian effect upon society.

The comprehensive high school is a major part of this process. The typical comprehensive high school provides three streams, or tracks, which are major divisions of the curriculum--the academic track, the vocational track, and the general track. Although moving from one track to another is possible, it rarely happens. The tracks themselves often function as dead end options. Thus, even in the schools which have "real" programs in all three tracks, one finds a separation of students, a "three-track culture" in the school.

The tracking system in the comprehensive high schools has a noticeable anti-democratic effect that is felt particularly by minority students. Elvin Montgomery[25] points out that the assignments of students to a particular track is often based on their performance on achievement tests taken early in the educational career. Consequently, given the unequal attention accorded the various tracks, students receive unequal opportunities to develop their potential. In Montgomery's view, this lack of opportunity occurs disproportionately in the lives of minority students because the philosophy, training, skills, and

attitudes of most educational personnel are based on only one ethnocentric cultural model of education, knowledge, and society.

The comprehensive high school in practice subverts the egalitarian intentions of its planner--illustrating once more the adage that good intentions are not accurate predictors of results. The school environment exacerbates the differences between students from different socio-economic and racial/ethnic backgrounds. In major ways, it makes the lives of students with nonacademic interests less rewarding and more difficult. In discussing the outcome of the tracking system for the Panel, William Roe[26] draws attention to the fact that about 50 percent of high school students are in the so-called "general" track, which prepares them neither for college nor for a job. Nearly 2.5 million students leave this three-track system each year without adequate preparation for careers, and ill-prepared to offer any productive skills to a prospective employer. In view of the general lack of utility of high school vocational education, the picture of the comprehensive high school is dim indeed.

Big schools have other disadvantages as well. They tend to be inhumane, bureaucratic, and unsuited to individual student needs. Only in the very big school, psychologists report, does one encounter the "completely left out" student--the student with an almost total lack of peer relationships.[27]

There is evidence that the rise of the big comprehensive school has been accompanied by a rise in the alienation of students from their peers and their environment. Douglas Heath discusses the consequences of larger schools upon students:

> What has been the effect of such large, superbly equipped schools upon their students? First, there is remarkably little evidence that the alleged benefits of a large school . . . make any noticeable contribution to any educational outcome . . . Second, recent evidence suggests that the crucial educational determinants of a student's development are the humanistic climate or atmosphere of the school, the student's sense of participant involvement, and the student's identification with the purposes of the faculty. Thirdly, there seems to be an inverse relation between the school's size and any of these atmospheric and motivational determinants. . . . Fourth, in contrast to so much educational research which frequently produces contradictory results, the evidence about the psychological effect of a large school is impressively consistently negative.[28]

In addition to all of the above reasons for questioning the desirability of the comprehensive high school, there is the problem of discipline. The Syracuse University Research Corporation in its report entitled

Disruption in the Urban Public Secondary School,[29] concludes forcefully that "larger schools have more problems."

It is clear from this study that the size of a school correlates with the number of discipline problems. Given the fact that discipline has been a perennial concern of those responding to the Gallup polls on "How the Public View Secondary Education"[30] a good case could be made for directing attention away from the large school as a partial solution to adolescents' psychosocial problems.

The conclusion is inescapable that the comprehensive high school has failed to fulfill its promise. The question remains whether the problem is one of implementation or conception--what would a good comprehensive high school be like? Would it meet the needs of the students? Weighing these two questions, the Panel feels that the flaws of the comprehensive high school are as much conceptual as implementational. There seems to be no way to build larger schools without a geometric rise in social distance, impersonal administration, requirements for administrative personnel, and bureaucratic red tape.

The solution is obviously not bigger schools. The negative effects are too overwhelming and obvious. Nor is the solution a system with more tracks to accommodate greater diversity. The Panel feels that a structural and conceptual change in the schools which gets away from the notion that education can only go on in a classroom with one teacher for a specific block of time is a move in the right direction.

To summarize, adolescents are more mature in many ways than their society gives them credit for; schools in particular have a history of relating to adolescents as if they were not capable of making decisions about their own needs and how to achieve them; the development of the big comprehensive school has exacerbated the problem of schools as an alien environment for adolescents. In trying to overcome these difficulties, the Panel recommends the following:

1. Secondary schools need to adapt to students who are maturing earlier in many ways. Most importantly, schools should reappraise those internal institutional structures and policies which are based on the assumption that 12- to 18-year olds are children and should be treated as such.

The Panel suggests a reevaluation of dress codes, behavior codes, and other rules which regulate the lives of students in school. A mature population should be able to handle many of these issues as individuals. Similarly, administrative procedures which demand lock-step processing and unquestioned obedience should be revised.

Schools should continue such remarkable pedagogical and academic adaptations as the earlier introduction of more sophisticated curriculum content and modes of presentation. Much success in recent years with the early introduction of language and mathematics materials supports this position. Another alternative is the early introduction of the kinds of material usually reserved for the senior year "problems of democracy" course. Today, the best high schools are offering the equivalent of the first and second years of the liberal arts college of 10 years ago.

The Panel suggests throughout this report that the old notions of what is conducive to learning may have been too narrow and that the time has come for adolescents to be allowed to assume greater responsibility for constructing their own educational environment. The Panel does not suggest that all regulations, special provisions, etc., be removed from the schools. Indeed, the Panel is aware that adolescence is a period of development and adjustment, not full maturation. The Panel is suggesting that the assumption that adolescents are fundamentally irresponsible should be reexamined, and policies should be changed to reflect more accurately the self-conception, concerns, and abilities of adolescents themselves, within clear guidelines, and social constraints.

2. Legal statutes regarding the upper limit of compulsory school attendance should be examined and evaluated.

The Panel raises the question of the practical value of the last year or two of high school if, in fact, terminal points of development have already been reached by age 15. In this light the Panel was interested in the results of the latest Gallup poll regarding "How the public views secondary education." To the question, "At what age should students be allowed to leave school?" there has been a significant shift in the response of professional educators: from "18 years" several years ago to "16 years" in the 1972 poll. Paradoxically, the laws, with some variation among the States, generally require school attendance only until age 16. Some 40 percent of high school youth attend voluntarily now. More needed than a reduction in mandatory school age, however, is greater flexibility in allowing transfers to community colleges, colleges, work, and reentry in school. The need for lifelong learning will be more clearly recognized if the process of readmission to high school is made readily available.

3. Raising the social competence of students to deal with local concerns in the immediate neighborhood of the adolescents and their families should be one of the major goals of education.

The Panel concludes that if adolescents are maturing earlier, there is reason to believe that many of them are interested in and

capable of engaging in adult activities in the community long before high school graduation. Such activities can include more work experience, involvement in community help projects, or the chance to study at first hand a major industrial process in depth.

4. The Panel suggests that in contrast to the "bigness is goodness" mentality which accompanied the move to the comprehensive high school, "smallness" be given a try. (In Britain, high schools with more than 500 students are considered too large.)

Despite the assumption behind Conant's call for larger schools linking curricular diversity to the teacher-pupil ratio and the classroom setting, the Panel feels that the development of different instructional modalities, varying pupil-teacher ratios from tutorial and seminar situations to large groups has removed the requirement for school size to reduce cost. The Panel questions the assumption that bigness per se is necessary for curricular diversity, and feels that the desired diversity can be achieved in numerous other ways.

An educational environment which combined a small facility with diversity in offerings and choice among them would likely produce some good results. First, the greater opportunity for face-to-face relationships among students and teachers would tend to lessen the discipline problems in the schools, thus relieving one of the public's major concerns about education. Adolescents should be involved with younger children and with older adults as a regular, frequent, and standard option. The vigor of adolescents coupled with the broader experience of the older adult may bring new vitality to community life. A sense of collegiality and engagement in a similar endeavor of inquiry could be more easily developed. There would be a noticeable absence of much of the bureaucracy and formalism which permeate the big school. The small school format would provide opportunity to redesign the relationship between schools and adolescents, and might well be a necessary precondition for creating an environment to which adolescents can relate as increasingly full and responsible members of society.

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Chapter 4

AN EDUCATIONAL CLIMATE WHICH HONORS AND RESPECTS DIFFERENCES AMONG ADOLESCENTS

The institutions of adolescent education should strive to create an educational environment which respects differences. This notion has been asserted but not honored in the United States for almost a century. The traditional concept of American educational institutions suggests a highly diverse system. However, the basic organizational patterns of the secondary schools throughout the country are very similar. These similarities do not allow the flexibility necessary to accommodate the innumerable differences among adolescents.

Between the ages of 11 and 17, the range of individual differences in physical structure and physiological functioning at any given chronological age is greater than at any other time in the human life span. Dorothy Eichorn's longitudinal study[1] showed an average difference between early- and late-maturing boys at age 15 of 8 inches and 30 pounds. Accompanying this size difference were group contrasts of relatively comparable magnitude in body build, strength, motor performance and coordination, reaction time, attractiveness of appearance as judged by adults and peers, leadership roles, self-concepts, and other aspects of personal and social behavior.

In a classroom of 15-year-olds, Eichorn found, the diversity of size and capacity with related variation in interest patterns and skills can span the range from middle childhood to adulthood. Regional and socioeconomic variations in the rate of maturity were also observed. Some individuals complete their adolescent transformation before others of the same age and sex begin to change.

Although 14 is the model age for ninth-graders, a few pupils in a given class may be as young as 11 or 12 or as old as 17 or 18. Some 16-year-olds are only in the seventh grade while others are in college; some work full time and some have married and are parents. Chronological age grading, therefore, becomes a progressively poorer index of physical and psychological status as children progress from infancy towards puberty.

In addition to the variation among adolescents of either sex, there are differences in the maturational rate of the two sexes. Among boys, for example, the normal range of age for the onset of pubic hair growth is 10-15 years and for its completion 14-18. Testis growth may begin between 10 and 13.5-17 years. Some boys begin their height spurt at 10.5 and finish it by 13, while in others accelerated growth does not start until 16. In girls the normal range is as great or greater. Pubic hair growth may start any time between 8 and 14, breast development between 8 and 13, and height spurt between 9.5 and 14.5. Menarche may fall between 10 and 16.5.

Ninety-eight percent of the maximum height for the average boy is reached by 17.5 years. The maximum height for the average girl is reached by 15.5. This 2-year variation is also comparable for the earlier development of ovaries to testicular growth. Because of her earlier growth spurt, the average girl is taller than the average boy from about 11-14 years and heavier from about 9 or 10 until 14.5. Of course, late-maturing boys may be somewhat dwarfed by many girls for an even longer period.

There are even significant developmental differences at 5 years of age, when the formal educational process begins. Girls are frequently 1 year older than boys physiologically, and have more advanced verbal skills.

There also appear to be personality differences between early- and late-maturing boys and girls. Very early-maturing girls are the most out of step with the modal tendency. Their interests and appearance are well ahead of their age peers of both sexes. Peers and adults relate to them differently. Some late-maturing boys may not be able to compete successfully until the time has passed when skills linked to size, endurance, and coordination have considerable social pay-off.

Sheldon White's study[2] reveals that differences in the rate of adolescent learning ability can be as startling as the variance in physiological development. A whole segment of intelligence testing studies treats adolescence as a period of differentiation of abilities. In addition to the cross-sectional differences, the vertical differences in the high school classroom must be considered. In the first grade the difference is between knowing how to read a little and not knowing how to read at all. In the seventh grade, however, the children range from first grade reading ability to twelfth grade ability. As students continue up through the grades, a larger spread of attained achievement scores develops. Tests of students already in tenth grade indicated reading and arithmetic scores ranging from second to beyond twelfth grade level, with 25 percent scoring at or below sixth grade level in reading and 44 percent scoring at or below sixth grade level in arithmetic.

In a perceptive statement celebrating differences in human learning styles, Hope J. Leichter writes:

> Individuals differ in the way they initiate, search for, absorb, synthesize, and critically appraise the various educative influences in their environment. Even on the level of everyday observation such differences are readily apparent. Some individuals reach out zestfully for new experiences, while others wait for opportunity to come to them. Some are playful, others more somber. Some risk embarrassment (for example, willingly try a foreign language in public), while others play it safe. Some theorize easily, others are more concrete. Some

> seek perfection, others have less exacting standards of excellence. Some are gregarious, others loners. Some learn best from listening, others from seeing or doing. Some prefer print, others prefer people or television or cinema.[3]

Another important consideration of adolescent differentiation is the ethnic composition of this country, which includes 7 million Americans of Italian descent, 4 million Americans of Polish descent, 5 million Mexican-Americans, 22½ million blacks, 400,000 Japanese-Americans, and almost 800,000 native Indian-Americans.[4]

Some of the white middle-class values that dominate the educational system are competitiveness, punctuality, hard work, cleanliness, postponement of gratification, and polite, controlled behavior. Dominant cultures tend to suppress differences, and different value orientations are not rewarded. But some Indian groups reward personal integrity, individual autonomy, and a demonstrated concern for community. There are strong family ties as well as flexible time requirements. Children are taught not to speak in the presence of adults and competitiveness is not a cultural pattern. Some Mexican-Americans have described themselves as emotionally responsive, idealistic, hardworking, and with strong family ties.[5]

A striking difference between the black adolescent and his white peer is that 70 percent of all blacks live in the central city.[6] Eighty percent of all Mexican-Americans live in urban areas also.[7] Sixty percent of all black adolescents between the ages of 14 and 17 live with one parent,[8] while 26 percent of the Mexican-American children under 18 are not living with either parent.[9] These adolescents do not share the experiences or expectations of their white peers or of school officials who are oriented towards a patriarchal family unit.

In addition to ethnic differences there are major differences between youth of various social classes. Several studies suggest that social class differences may be more important than generational differences. The working-class boy is probably closer in his value system to his father than he is to his middle-class agemate.

Glatthorn[10] states that middle-class youth seem to place more emphasis on delayed gratification. Upper-middle- and middle-class adolescents seem more committed to the traditional middle-class definition of success.

The perceived lack of connection between school work and the type of success desired is most acute for the lower-class child. Low self-esteem in boys is related to social class: it is more difficult for lower-class boys to achieve feelings of self-esteem.

There are differences also in the aspiration-expectation gap. Working-class youth tend to lower their aspirations when it comes to considering expectations that are associated with academic aptitude. One of the main obstacles to opportunity as perceived by working-class boys is their lack of achievement at school.

Children of higher socioeconomic levels are more popular as friends and enjoy greater status. Middle-class children are more likely to get higher grades, hold student office, and take active part in extra-curricular activities. Lower-class students are less likely to belong to a youth organization, and in fact a fair number of children from poor families belong to no group at all.[11]

As previously stated, the traditional concept of the American secondary school suggests a highly diverse institution, each school system having its own unique approach to the business of providing education for its youth. The traditional concept also suggests pride in the doctrine of local responsibility and autonomy. There are more than 16,000 different boards of education, and although each has a great deal of freedom in managing its local schools, basic organizational and instructional patterns of secondary schools throughout the United States are startingly similar.

One of the characteristics of this monolithic system is the ethnocentrism of the white middle class and the expectation that other groups will be assimilated into the dominant white culture. This assimilation implies that the culture, values, and norms, as represented by middle-class white children, are the majority values and thus the task for all minorities is to accept, learn, and practice the middle-class values.

This fundamental premise of the assimilationist approach to education has seldom been questioned seriously, even though many of the sources of past and present educational dilemmas appear to stem from two fundamental fallacies about the American social and cultural situation. First is the notion that a proper melting-pot process has assimilated and is assimilating the culturally different; and second, the notion that American society should be and therefore is a homogeneous cultural system.[12]

Many standard educational practices are outgrowths of the ethnocentricity which has characterized the American educational system. One such manifestation is the culture-bound value system that determines what "knowledge" is and therefore what "learning" is all about. Knowledge acquired through the formal academic process is thought to be basically different from, and superior to, knowledge acquired and expressed through practical experience in living. Students are not encouraged to make use of skills that have been learned outside of school, thus producing a split between education and life for many minority students,[13] as well as for a growing number of students from the dominant majority.

Archaic, inadequate, and biased instructional materials represent many groups in an unfavorable manner. Indians, blacks, and Italians, for example, have consistently been misrepresented. The mass media have been as responsible as the school system for the resultant prejudices.

Differences in racial and ethnic backgrounds are not the only basis for adolescent alienation from the present system. The working-class student is very often uncomfortable in the typical suburban secondary school. He often feels rejected by the adults in control and isolated from the larger teenage society. His skills are not rewarded and he feels cheated by a system which seems to have little relationship to the goals that are important to him. In many cases he may be a social isolate whose rejection by his peers constitutes an important obstacle to learning.[14] Schoolmen need to know more about how the institution complements the values and behaviors of the ethnic setting and how, wittingly or not, they operate in negative or contradictory ways.

In the ethnically monolithic system, minority parental and community resources are not used to any great extent. Deviant cultural patterns are not recognized and appreciated for their individual merit.

Although the system is monolithic and has basically preferred to minimize adolescent differences, it does respond to certain differences in a number of ways. Age-grading is one of the methods now used among 12-18-year-olds. Intra- and inter-sex differences during adolescence raise important questions about the socialization practices of age-grading, however. Longitudinal studies show that the effects of both advantages and handicaps on self-perception and interpersonal attitudes can have long-lasting effects.[15]

Another consequence of age-grading occurs when students are held back and the physiological variations become even more pronounced. The percentage of blacks enrolled in the modal grade for their age is lower than for whites, making those black students even more conspicuous and out of step. For example, 38 percent of enrolled black 16-year-old boys are 1 year below the modal grade, while only 19 percent of white 16-year-old boys are 1 year below their modal grade.[16] Within each classroom the presence of understandably resentful students can prove frustrating for both students and teachers.

Tracking, another method used by the educational system to cope with student differences, is a systematic assignment of students into distinct educational categories, each of which receives different inputs and is oriented towards different types of experience and goals. Inputs tend to be unequal; outcomes are likewise unequal. Despite good intentions, tracking for many minority students ends up being unequal largely because the philosophy, training, skills, and attitudes of most educational personnel are based on only one ethnocentric cultural model of education, knowledge, and society. Deviations from this ethnocentric model are generally seen as negative and inferior.

Another consequence of the way the present system relates to differences is the negative effect on self-esteem. Racist attitudes, tracking, and condescending teacher expectations are bound to have negative, possibly long-lasting effects on student self-concept. Self-concept is achieved through social contacts with parents, peers, and teachers, and the fact that it can be taught is of great importance to the role of the educational institution. High self-esteem can have direct benefits not only for the individual but for the society in general. The educational institution must not continue to perpetuate the ills of society, and must develop the sensitivity to abolish practices of human differentiation that have negative consequences.

What steps should be taken to insure a more positive way of dealing with differences? Two steps seem to be (a) to eliminate the negative consequences of the present system by ending internal practices which lead to discrimination, and (b) to develop increased self-esteem through a policy of honoring and respecting the social contributions of all groups, including those which have borne the brunt of social discrimination.

Although educational institutions cannot be expected to end the discriminatory practices of society as a whole, the termination of internal practices that perpetuate discrimination can make a valuable contribution. Such practices as tracking, sex and racial imbalance in staffing, and sex biased and racially biased curriculums should be eliminated.

Educational institutions should be instrumental in developing a sense of self-esteem by honoring and respecting differences, especially those differences that in the past have been the target of discrimination. One way to do this is to make greater use of the resources of the minority parents and community by engaging them in the educational processes.

With an awareness of these special concerns in implementing this new system of true diversity, various alternatives can be considered. One current alternative is minischools, or schools-within-schools, which could be set up with distinct learning situations--teacher-oriented, student-oriented, or as diverse in operating climates as a creative recognition of human learning styles might reasonably evoke. These minischools could specialize in anything from English to automobile mechanics and allow the schools to incorporate all levels of interest and ability. A second and growing option is small alternative schools outside the present high school, such as career academies, technology centers, and art centers, all operating under public scrutiny and support.

Alternatives to schooling as well as in schooling should be explored. As a third alternative adolescents should be encouraged to investigate and participate in work experiences, community service (i.e., in hospitals, mental institutions, etc.), local government, and schools without walls.

A fourth alternative would involve extending the availability of each school's facilities to nights, weekends, summers, and even during the school day to all youth and adults in educational, recreational, and other neighborhood activities. This would increase the options available, allow greater flexibility, and provide new kinds of learning for educational credit.

To facilitate these alternatives to schooling it is important for the schools to have an open entrance-exit policy. Students would then be able to attend school on a part-time basis, work or volunteer their services in or out of school, or attend two or more schools at one time.

Also in relation to increased flexibility, many of the structured requirements which characterize the secondary education should be eliminated, reduced, or made more flexible. These include the 4-year graduation requirement, the 9-month school year, rigid academic requirements for graduation, semester-long classes, 40-60 minute periods, and Carnegie units.

An important element of this flexibility and crucial to effective alternatives is the development of performance criteria. A student evaluation system should be established that emphasizes performance outcomes on social effectiveness, human relations, and job performance as well as the application of knowledge, the recall of knowledge, and college-bound academics. This increased flexibility would go a long way toward reducing the age-grade placement of students with its negation of human values.

These diverse learning options keyed to the special needs and interests of various students would have a marked effect on improving the relevance of the educational system, self-esteem, school attendance, drop-out prevention, and the return of drop-outs to school.

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Chapter 5

PREPARATION OF ADOLESCENTS FOR FUTURE FAMILIAL ROLES

The uncertain condition of the contemporary American family has seriously affected the adolescent population. The assumption that being a successful happy member of a family, as spouse or parent, is instinctive and an inherent capability of all persons is having disastrous consequences. Similarly the assumption that family roles are absorbed through the normal cultural transmission process without formal learning is also under question. The capacity for inducing pregnancy does not carry with it the competence to manage a family or raise children. During 1970 there were 715,000 divorces in the United States,[1] and there are more than 900,000 currently. The rate of divorce in the United States is the highest among all Western nations. Although the American divorce rate has varied over the past century, it has been consistently on the rise. During the past decade there has been more than one divorce for every four marriage ceremonies,[2] and for married adolescents, the national divorce rate is 3 to 4 times that of any other age group. Equally disturbing is the fact that approximately 210,000 girls 17 or under gave birth in the United States last year, and that one in every 10 17-year-old girls is a mother and 16 percent of these girls have two children. Not only are many of these young mothers unsure about the fundamentals of infant care and child development but they are actually uncertain about the biological process of conception.[3]

The consequences to these child-bearing adolescents are long-ranged. Pregnancy is the major known cause of school dropouts in the United States, and the incidence of complications in pregnancy for teenage females is significantly greater than for older women. Additionally, infants of teenage mothers are in the greatest jeopardy of all infants when general pregnancy complications, as well as prematurity, are correlated with the development of subsequent mental subnormality and multiple neurological difficulties.[4]

Early child-bearing is associated with social handicaps, early marriage, unstable family life, repeated pregnancies, and welfare dependency. This combination of traumas makes it easier to understand why 9 percent of teenage mothers attempt suicide, seven times the national percentage for teenage girls without children.[5]

The high rate of divorce, the collapse of the extended family, and the isolation of adolescents and other age groups from each other indicate serious trouble for the American family. Fathers frequently work long hours. In 1972, 43.9 percent of the labor force were women, up from 31.8 percent in 1947. These female members of the labor force are spending less time in their traditional familial roles.[6]

> The family whose breakup is thus heralded is the traditional monogamous and patriarchal family of Western civilization. Sociologists point out that this family, developed for the most part in a rural environment, has economic, educational, and recreational functions which it has now relinquished to large business enterprises, schools, and the mass entertainment industries. In just about all the historical civilizations and primitive societies with which we are acquainted, the family has been both the basic economic unit and the major educational agency for its youth. Having lost these functions, what will hold it together?[7]

Who will assume--or has assumed--the responsibilities for family education? Sheldon White comments:

> There seems to be a set of human functions which are taught somewhere between the school and the family, most likely in the peer group. These may include sex education, interpersonal relations, ethics, religious and moral values. The education of these topics seems to have moved out of the family's realm in many cases and the consequences to the development of the child are difficult to interpret. The peer group may be picking up where the family left off and the schools did not pick up. This is not to suggest that the school should attempt to take on the training that the peer groups are presently doing. Adolescent education is much larger than the schools and probably will and should remain so.[8]

It is clear from all of the above that sharp changes in the nature, the structure, the roles of the family and of its members' relations to each other are occurring currently at an accelerating rate. There is a vast literature on the family as educator, as a shaper of personality and character, as inducer of emotional stability or illness, as economic unit, as imposer of sex roles, and as a child-rearing institution. There is also considerable agreement on how much is not known.

But the question of the role of formal education in all these areas remains open. All societies have educated themselves in family roles through enculturation, and socialization in self-perpetuating models for the roles of wife-husband, mother-father, and children from infancy to adulthood. The intervention of schooling as an educational force in this process is essentially a 20th century concept of industrial society. (cf. John Dewey in The School and Society argues that because the nonfarm family in an urban setting no longer displays adult behavior before children, schools need to take on this task. More recently Urie Bronfenbrenner has carried this analysis further in his concern for the gap between the generations.) In 1918, the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education issued The Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education[9]

holding worthy home membership to be a fundamental objective of high school education. With woman's role historically determined to be that of homemaker and child rearer, the new courses stimulated by the commission's report became vocationally segregated programs for training girls in housekeeping roles. And with rare exceptions these programs remain today elective courses for girls who do not take the college preparatory program or business education training. There are a few notable exceptions, however, where young men and women study together the nature of marriage, family roles, courtship patterns, family finances, and child rearing.

The introduction of home economics courses for girls in the 1920s was based on the assumption that the patriarchal family would go on forever, with its motherwife submissive roles brought down from the neolithic domestication of plants and women. The schools became one more instrument for maintaining the subordinate role of women at a time, following World War I, when the demands for women in the labor force and other consequences of an industrial society were undercutting major supports for the old family form. This illustrates one limitation of the schools in family life education. What patterns, structures, roles should inform school programs? From work and career to parent roles, the family is changing and the schools can find themselves indoctrinating for outlooks and functions that may once have existed, but do not now, and may never again. In the Panel's view patterns now evolving will require degrees of amity and goodwill, interpersonal accommodations, and social skills greater than the more rigorously structured patterns of yesterday. Where the historical scripts are missing, the burden of improvising scenarios is very heavy. Education in and out of the schools is burdened with more obligations than solutions.

The Panel has a number of suggestions cautiously advanced with neither dogmatism nor assurance:

1. Open all home economics courses to young men.

2. Shift one or several such courses to the evening to invite the joint participation of older adults with adolescents.

3. Shift some resources to local radio and local TV, including cable TV, as a vehicle for education.

4. Plan joint educational ventures with other government and private agencies now engaged in one or more areas of family life support activities to involve a wide age range of adults including grandparents.

5. Transfer some resources from home economics as presently taught in the high schools to on-the-job training programs in homemaker services in the community in cooperation with other agencies.

6. Inaugurate homemaker on-the-job training in child rearing programs in day care centers as another example of community-based learning.

7. Establish multiagency training programs for youth volunteers of both sexes to manage home-based, small, child-care centers for working mothers.

8. Form family education councils consisting of all interested parties and public and private agencies as a community policy oversight agency.

9. Use the newly established community guidance centers as family counseling agents in cooperative services and planning with existing public and private agencies.

10. Establish youth-adult consumer advisory agencies at the local level to provide technical assistance to adult clients in interpreting consumer reports, data from the Bureau of Standards, and similar sources of information.

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Chapter 6

INSTITUTIONS OF ADOLESCENT EDUCATION AND HOW THEY RELATE TO THE PROBLEM OF INTEGRATION INTO THE BROADER COMMUNITY

Of the 27,835,808 12- to 18-year olds (13.7 percent of the total U.S. population) reported in the 1970 census, nearly 98.9 percent of 12- to 15-year-olds, 94.0 percent of 16-year-olds, 86.2 percent of 17-year-olds and 55.0 percent of 18-year-olds were enrolled in school in October, 1971.* Recent high school graduation and retention rates are also high. In 1968 high school graduates totalled 78.4 percent of 17-year-olds, while the 1970-71 graduating class represented 78.9 percent of the class that entered the ninth grade in 1967. By contrast, in 1899-1900, 3.5 percent of 17-year-olds were high school graduates, and in 1939-40 50.8 percent.

Thus, today, more adolescents are spending more time in school than at any other time in history. Although Americans are justifiably proud of the democratization of educational opportunities which the public education system has provided during this century, the school-enrollment process has also resulted in a relatively new phenomenon--the isolation of youth from adults and adult experiences. Being in high school now means not being involved in a variety of experiences, activities, and institutions to which large numbers of previous generations of adolescents were exposed. Formal schooling has come to dominate the "adolescent experience" in the United States.

One need not advocate a "school-of-hard knocks" philosophy or overlook the importance of academic and cognitive knowledge and skills in society to feel that there is much of importance to be learned outside the secondary school classroom. Adolescents need to learn what it means to be a functioning member of contemporary American society. This may be especially important for the increasing numbers of youth who are completing their physical and, quite probably, intellectual and emotional, development earlier than their grandparents. The efforts usually begun during the adolescent years at determining lifestyles, careers, and world views seem to be improved by exposure to and experimentation with various ways of assuming and relating to "adult" roles and responsibilities. In a society where social roles

*Enrollment figures of the civilian noninstitutionalized population

are increasingly fluid and diverse and where change is becoming the only constant, stability in the society and psychic security for youth may result from more experiences among the generations than all-day schooling now permits.

Out-of-school learning experiences seem to offer a great potential for individual cognitive and affective development, although empirical data in this area are limited. John Dewey asserted that learning depends on experience, with the learning which takes place closest (in physical proximity or relevancy) to a situation of immediate concern to the learner being most effectively accomplished. Several case studies suggest that at least some students learn traditional high school subjects such as mathematics, language skills, and social studies as well in work experience projects as in the classroom. In addition, learning from and in the community can supplement, integrate, and substantiate scholastic knowledge by putting it to use or testing it. Such benefits are in no way limited to nonacademically oriented youth. Self-reliance, personal responsibility, confidence in one's own judgment, and effective action skills have to be practiced to be achieved; they cannot be learned adequately from print or from the passive, waiting-to-be-taught nature of the student's role. In contemporary society, for instance, having a job and earning money is often a very definite source of independence, while being shielded from responsibility and productive work frequently results in irresponsible and unproductive behavior.[1] Opportunities to participate actively in, rather than merely observe, activities enable youth to utilize and appraise their developing competencies and encourage them to evaluate themselves, their performance, their skills, and even their sense of the world. By increasing their knowledge of personal strengths and weaknesses, such experiences and evaluations expand adolescents' understanding of themselves.

No single institution, including the high school, can provide the diversity of experiences necessary to meet adequately the widely varying abilities, needs, interests, aspirations, and learning styles of 12- to 18-year-olds. Only the wider community, reflecting the diversities of the general population (although with cultural limitations), has the flexibility and human and material resources to provide learning situations diverse in both content and style. Research indicates that self-confidence and optimism appear to be predictors of later personal and employment success. One study concludes that young people who have experienced repeated failure in previous schooling and work need to achieve some successes to allow the development of the optimism and self-confidence necessary to undertake efforts at improving their skills.[2] Community involvement opportunities--a part-time job, an internship, artistic performance--appear to offer a much greater variety of possibilities for successful experiences than the traditional high school. There is no guarantee that such a nonschool experience

will be positive rather than merely neutral or even negative for self-development. It is clear however, that the secondary school, by offering only a limited number of sanctioned learning experiences, has detrimental effects on the education of many adolescents.

Involvement of adolescents in various community activities--whether it be through working, investigating local social problems or utilizing community information facilities--can place youth in meaningful contact with people of a much wider range of ages, interests, backgrounds, and professions than can be found in the high school. Such interactions outside the paternalistic child-adult relationships in the schools can lead to the development and/or refinement of skills in human relations, as well as to a clearer perception of one's place in and relationship to society as a whole. The benefits of such contacts and interactions do not accrue only to adolescents, however. The inclusion of adolescents in activities outside the school enables the community, as a whole and as individuals, to become much more actively involved in the education of their youth. Being involved in another's education--through personal contact rather than just tax-dollars--creates a learning experience in itself. Ideally, an increase in substantive interactions between adolescents and older people will weaken mutual stereotypes and enable everyone to be seen as a teacher of some kinds of knowledge and a learner of others. The vigor of youth and the idealistic views of adolescents serve as a constant prod to the older generation.

Present day secondary education does not significantly encourage adolescents to acquire some of their education outside the school building; in fact, it frequently inhibits the process. Work-study programs, where they exist, are usually small, employment-oriented, and considered an option only for nonacademic students. Rules and regulations, and occasionally laws, often attempt to confine students to the school grounds or the presence of a certified teacher. Class schedules, homework assignments, and other school practices limit the opportunities a young person may have to hold a part-time job or do volunteer work. Actually, many adolescents do work for some period of time during their high school years (50 percent in one Labor Department study), but school personnel seldom contribute to the job-finding process, are frequently unaware of such student employment, and rarely accommodate a student's academic program to his employment schedule or recognize or "certify" the learnings achieved in the work place.

Originally intended to develop intellectual skills, the schools have come to be seen as the providers of all a young person's educational experiences. Compulsory education laws require youth

to attend school until the age of 16,* and social pressure is exerted for them to remain until graduation, at approximately age 18. "Dropping out" of school (to do something else) is not regarded as the exercise of an option but as an indication of the individual's failure. The schools, of course, did not assume such an overwhelming responsibility for adolescents all at once or simply on their own initiative. Such factors as the fragmentation of the nuclear family, the separation of residential and business areas, occupational mobility, child labor laws, the decline of the apprentice system, and the working mother have often joined with American faith in formal education to isolate youth from the rest of society by concentrating them for longer periods of time in the schools.[3]

Regardless of its cause, the segregation of young people from other age groups can have serious consequences. The White House Conference on Children reported to the President in 1970 that:

> A decrease in opportunities for meaningful contact between children and persons older, or younger, than themselves is disturbing because the isolation of children from adults simultaneously threatens the growth of the individual and the survival of society. Child rearing is not something children can do for themselves. It is primarily through observing, playing, and working with others older and younger than himself that a child discovers both what he can do and who he can become--that he develops both his ability and identity. It is primarily through exposure and interaction with adults and children of different ages that a child acquires new interests and skills and learns the meaning of tolerance, cooperation, and compassion. Hence, to relegate children to a world of their own is to deprive them of their humanity, and ourselves as well.[4]

Such ill effects would appear to be heightened by the evolution of an adolescent society isolated from substantial relationships with older adults and younger children.

Age segregation has resulted in a much greater association of youth with their age peers, and thus significantly increased the influence of the peer group dynamic on American adolescents. These groups provide only a transitional structure between the family group and the larger society. They assist in the development of a

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*In several States education is required until ages 17 and 18.

heterosexual role; provide feedback about behavior; afford a means of understanding self and others; help adolescents adapt to new roles and relationships; provide job information; offer a highly personal and emotionally important form of guidance, which includes sympathy, support, and help in meeting peer and/or social expectations. The peer group also plays a critical but not uniformly determining role in shaping values. These age-segregated peer groups have become a major educational force in the lives of adolescents. Their lack of generational stability and their narrow age-base, however, make them subject to rapid change in the activities and personal styles they endorse. Although in the past such groups have generally reinforced rather than opposed adult values, there is some feeling that such reinforcement is declining and will continue to do so as increases occur in population mobility, the influence of the mass media, the isolation of youth from adults, and its related phenomenon of peer group rootlessness.

Adolescent peer groups are also a powerful factor in the tendency towards delinquent and antisocial behavior, significantly affect the operating norms of classroom behavior, and profoundly influence individual self-esteem. The latter is particularly important because a significant number of youth (11-22 percent in one study) are ignored by their peers or are otherwise seriously estranged from meaningful group involvement. Such peer rejection can serve as a difficult obstacle to the development of self-esteem and to learning. Since clique and crowd members are almost invariably of the same ethnic group and social class, strong group identification produces definite segregating tendencies in the age group. The Panel is concerned that one result, unforeseen and unplanned, of the success of the comprehensive high school in achieving near saturation enrollment of an age group has been the creation of a peer-group dominated youth culture.

As high schools came to house larger numbers of adolescents and larger percentages of the age group, they also became the major site of adolescent social relations and activities. Although the tendency to form peer groupings normally increases with the size of a "community," schools usually have not dealt constructively with the expanding numbers and centrality of adolescent peer groups nor tried to utilize their positive aspects for educational purposes. Instead, schools and teachers have frequently interfered superficially with the functioning of these groups, often trying to break them up or reduce their influence. Such efforts have often had the undesirable consequences of increasing the number of isolates (especially in large schools) and of reducing large, fairly diverse peer arrangements to small, ethnocentric, highly segregated groups.[5]

The concentration of increasing numbers of youth in the secondary school and the concomitant decline in adolescent exposure

to other institutions coincided with a rising American faith in high school education as the cure for society's ills. In response to these trends, the high school gradually became an educational conglomerate, absorbing such tasks as vocational preparation, sex education, driver training, drug counseling, etc., into its academic framework. Although an effective adolescent educational system should offer such varied types of learning, the assumption that the institution of the high school can be expanded to incorporate all educational functions has to be seriously questioned. A truly "comprehensive" high school has rarely, if ever, been achieved. In addition, "the school, when it has tried to teach nonintellective things, does so in the only way it knows how, the way designed to teach intellective capabilities: through a teacher, transmitting cognitive skills and knowledge, in a classroom, to students."[6] At the same time, secondary schools have been criticized for diluting their efforts to the extent that many students' cognitive skills are poorly developed.

In sum, despite the numerous types of learning that can and frequently must take place in the community or the "real world," the only sanctioned educational experiences of most 12- to 18-year-olds are those which occur in the secondary school classroom. This equating of formal schooling with education is not only functionally inaccurate but also often damaging to individual development. Although empirical data on the specific results of various nonacademic experiences are lacking, the problems stemming from the conventional secondary school's inability to be all things to all adolescents are clear enough to warrant designing complementary educational approaches. Thus the Panel recommends that the U.S. adolescent education system actively integrate youth into the broader community by providing a wide variety of out-of-school or "experience-based" learning opportunities.

The range of viable out-of-school learning experiences for adolescents is virtually limitless. Valuable and varied learning can occur in regular part-time or full-time jobs; community service activities in hospitals, schools, old age homes, mental institutions, environmental action groups, etc.; "school without walls" programs which encourage young people to decide what they want to learn and to draw on the knowledge and resources of individuals and institutions in the community (banks, art galleries, courts, auxiliary police forces, etc.); internships in public agencies; apprenticeships; personal performance opportunities in drama, music, art, etc.; "action learning" in paid jobs or volunteer work with associated academic study; public action activities, perhaps as part of regular social studies classes, which investigate and work to reform local social injustices (e.g., assisting tenants to fight negligent landlords, aiding and advising youthful offenders); curriculum-based

learning projects involving concrete experiences (field anthropology, office work, etc.); identification and programmatic structuring of experience-based learning opportunities for other youth.

Just as there are numerous nonacademic experiences from which adolescents can achieve various cognitive, affective, and manual learnings, there is no single administrative or structural model for the design of a community-based experience. Table I juxtaposes some of the different types of experience-based learning situations against a few of the various structural components of any such program. As an illustration, adolescents "A", "B" and "C" (see table I) are involved in three different out-of-school learning situations.

"A" has a part-time job in a local hardware store, which supervises him and pays him the standard wage. He found and negotiated the details of his job on his own, and is viewed by the store personnel as a regular employee rather than as a member of any particular program. The store management does not attempt to provide him with cross-cultural experiences or opportunities for reflection on his work and his education. "A"'s duties at the store are unrelated to any of his school studies and he receives no academic credit for them.

"B", on the other hand, is engaged in a 3-month project in the neighborhood health clinic. Supervised and funded jointly by the high school and the clinic, "B" worked out her specific duties with the clinic and feels no allegiance to any special program. She works full time for the 3-month period and is paid for her transportation expenses only. Her activities in the clinic's lab, for which she receives partial academic credit, were selected to supplement her science training. The clinic designed her duties to bring her into contact with people of many social classes and ethnic groups, and to allow her time to talk with staff members about what she is learning there and elsewhere.

"C" participates part time in a school-sponsored and school-funded public action program investigating inequities in the local juvenile court system. The program, designed and operated by interested students, is the action-oriented component of one of the high school social studies classes and receives full academic credit. All participants follow the same basic program model and function as a group in assigning, performing, and discussing tasks. The school neither pays them nor stresses cross-cultural contacts, but does encourage the students to relate their findings about the legal system to other academic and nonacademic experiences.

Table 1

MATRIX OF DIFFERENT EXPERIENCE-BASED LEARNING SITUATIONS AND THEIR VARIOUS STRUCTURAL COMPONENTS

STRUCTURAL COMPONENTS \ LEARNING SITUATIONS	Regular Jobs	Community Service Activities	Schools-Without-Walls	Internships in Public Agencies	Apprenticeships	Artistic Performance Opportunities	'Action Learning' (with associated academic study)	Public Action Activities	Curriculum-Based Learning Projects Involving Concrete Experiences	Structuring Experience-Based Learning Opportunities for Other Youth
1. PAYMENT										
a) No pay								C		
b) Partial or subsidized payment		B								
c) Full pay	A									
2. ADMINISTRATIVE SUPERVISION										
a) Full school supervision								C		
b) Joint institutional supervision		B								
c) full supervision by non-school institution	A									
3. FUNDING SOURCE										
a) School								C		
b) Joint institutional funding		B								
c) Non-school institution	A									
4. ACADEMIC CREDIT										
a) Full credit								C		
b) Partial credit		B								
c) No credit	A									
5. AMOUNT OF PARTICIPANT INVOLVEMENT										
a) Part-time	A							C		
b) Full-time		B								

Table 1 (cont.)

MATRIX OF DIFFERENT EXPERIENCE-BASED LEARNING SITUATIONS AND THEIR VARIOUS STRUCTURAL COMPONENTS

STRUCTURAL COMPONENTS \ LEARNING SITUATIONS	Regular Jobs	Community Service Activities	Schools-Without-Walls	Internships in Public Agencies	Apprenticeships	Artistic Performance Opportunities	'Action Learning' (with associated academic study)	Public Action Activities	Curriculum-Based Learning Projects Involving Concrete Experiences	Structuring Experience-Based Learning Opportunities for Other Youth
6. DEGREE OF PROGRAM AUTONOMY										
a) Integrated with academic curriculum								C		
b) Related to academic curriculum		B								
c) Independent of academic curriculum	A									
7. PROGRAM CONTROL										
a) Student-controlled								C		
b) Joint student-adult controlled		B								
c) Adult-controlled	A									
8. PROGRAM IDENTIFICATION										
a) Participant identification with and responsibilities to the program itself								C		

Table 1 (cont.)

MATRIX OF DIFFERENT EXPERIENCE-BASED LEARNING SITUATIONS AND THEIR VARIOUS STRUCTURAL COMPONENTS

STRUCTURAL COMPONENTS \ LEARNING SITUATIONS	Regular Jobs	Community Service Activities	Schools-Without-Walls	Internships in Public Agencies	Apprenticeships	Artistic Performance Opportunities	'Action Learning' (with associated academic study)	Public Action Activities	Curriculum-Based Learning Projects Involving Concrete Experiences	Structuring Experience-Based Learning Opportunities for Other Youth
b). Participant has no special status in the non-school setting which derives from the program	A	B								
9. PROGRAM PATTERNING										
a) A general program model								C		
b) Each experience individually negotiated	A	B								
10. CROSS-CULTURAL EMPHASIS										
a) Efforts to provide participants with such contacts		B								
b) No particular efforts	A							C		
11. PERSONAL REFLECTION OPPORTUNITIES										
a) Provision of opportunities for participant reflection on the experience		B						C		

A wide selection of experience-based learning opportunities and programs in a given community appears much more capable of providing diverse learnings for the varied adolescent population than one or two conventional high schools. Such programs are not without potential hazards, however. Decentralizing education, especially in different physical locations, could create the conditions for resegregation. Although the comprehensive high school never really integrated youth from different backgounds, the expansion of student and parent choices does increase the likelihood of students electing to be with others like themselves, judged by race or religion. The recent development of minicourses and minischools has already given curricular recognition to adolescent subcultures, with many of the options revealing highly self-selective enrollments. A related problem is the possibility of the traditional high school becoming a "pauper school," composed of all those youth without the interest, capacity, or information to choose some other option(s). To minimize possible detrimental effects, an adolescent education system should attempt to make each of its alternative institutions or learning opportunities as integrated (in terms of ethnic background, social class, age, etc.) as possible and should prevent such factors from being used as the basis for admission or exclusion.

For out-of-school learning opportunities to be most educationally significant for their participants, they have to be designed and operated as independent but integral parts of the total educational environment of adolescents. Thus, effective experience-based learning opportunities and programs must operate neither as a replacement for the existing high school nor as a mere adjunct to it. For community-oriented experiences to be viable components of the adolescent education system, the emphasis in their development should be on opening up alternative educational structures and experiences, not on offering diversity for its own sake or as a substitute for structure in general. Such an approach is necessary if out-of-school learning experiences are to be more than game-playing or officially sanctioned truancy. The Panel notes that the number of variables in the component designs of community-based learning enterprises makes local design a necessity, not a mere political shibboleth.

Nearly all students, most probably, will need or want to retain a significant base (in terms of time and identification) in the existing high school. Many adolescents need a sense of identification with or belonging to a certain institution where they are able to meet and share experiences with their friends. Secondary schools, reduced in size and better focused in purpose, may be better able to mix youth of different social classes and ethnic groups than smaller alternative educational settings. With its historical emphasis on academic disciplines, the high school

also appears better suited than other institutions to undertake the instruction of those areas of learning and developmental tasks which programmatically require rigor, sequencing, and precise evaluation--mathematics, science, writing, and speaking. Other types of learning, however, appear to be better accomplished by learner initiation, direction, and participation than by teacher dominance. Development in the arts and citizenship, for instance, seems enhanced when the professional's function shifts from a direct imparting of information to supporting and guiding the student's effort to find his way. Subinstitutions physically or geographically separate from the school are necessary to meet those educational needs more successfully than is possible when school facilities and personnel are used for purposes for which they were not designed or trained. Separating these new and old functions from the existing high school will, of course, lead to a pruned and programmatically smaller institution. Although some fear this process could result in the demise of the secondary school, it is unlikely to do so. The school's cognitive development abilities, plant investment, and the availability of unique and expensive facilities (gymnasiums, science laboratories, classrooms, etc.) will make that institution's replacement wasteful and its continued use necessary for many years to come.

Since the high school will play an important, but not the only important role in the education of U.S. adolescents, conceptual and operational adaptations will be necessary. Such existing structures and practices as the 4-year graduation requirement, the 9-10 month school year, rigid academic requirements for graduation, semester-long classes, 45-50 minute class periods, and Carnegie credit units need to be relaxed, if not eliminated, to enable community people to utilize school facilities and adolescents to engage in community learning situations. School personnel will have to be more responsive to youth's employment needs and requirements. In addition, adolescents should participate in teaching and counseling their peers and younger children. Admittedly, some of these proposals run counter to teacher concerns that reducing inschool courses and requirements threatens their jobs and that the number of hours, types of assignments, etc., that administrators can require of them would be limited rather than expanded. Finally, the secondary school's legal responsibility for its students' welfare need not pose a barrier to well-designed community involvement projects. Instead of requiring students to stay on campus all day, the institution can meet its "in loco parentis" obligations by carefully investigating and planning for all the safety considerations (location, transportation, etc.) involved in any proposed community learning setting. Then the school or some other institution would take all the conceivable precautions that a prudent and concerned parent would take (alerting the police force, notifying the alternative institution of each student's expected arrival time, not sending youth

out alone, etc.) before sanctioning student involvement in that alternative education site. The Panel strongly recommends that high school changes come after new programs for education are planned in a step-by-step program of reciprocal activities.

Community learning options are both facilitated by and supportive of smaller educational units. Keeping the school building open nearly all the time and involving increasing numbers of adolescents in community-based educational settings decrease the size of the inschool population at any given time. Student utilization of community facilities (buildings, libraries, art centers, etc.) provides an educational diversity not dependent on teacher-pupil ratios or on expansion of each school's physical resources and facilities. All these factors, plus the projected decline of the 12-18-year-old group (beginning in 1975 and continuing in absolute terms until 1985), can have the additional benefit of greatly reducing, if not eliminating, many school districts' building needs.

The development of performance or proficiency measurements is recommended by the Panel as an important mechanism for enhancing and controlling the diversity of an adolescent education system offering various inschool and out-of-school learning opportunities. In replacing the Carnegie credit unit approach to educational assessment, performance measures would facilitate movement between (entry into and exit from) different alternatives within the school framework and between school and nonschool offerings. Records of a student's performance in various areas will enable cohesion and continuity to be maintained in his or her educational program despite participation in a number of different alternative institutions. On another level, rigorous evaluation controls should be established for each alternative program or learning setting in order to evaluate the process taking place and the outcomes in the students' lives. Research and inprocess evaluation are necessary to determine what types of alternative learning settings, and under what conditions, produce what results.

Equally important for a diversified secondary education system is the development of an effective information dispensing and guidance system to help adolescents effectively utilize the available options. The existing high school guidance system is performing so poorly, however, that it seems doubtful that it can be sufficiently improved to meet any new demands.[7] The present mechanism tries to make adolescents adapt to the system rather than vice versa, serves such structural needs of the education industry as career advancement rather than more client-related goals, and fragments the school's responsibility and concern for the students. It has also emphasized simple (and usually inadequate) information distribution, rather than

students' institutional and personal adjustment problems, largely because of the institution's pressure on counselors to protect the interest of the school and the faculty before those of the students.

The more recent concept of the guidance office as the provider of humane treatment and personal support within the school frequently has assumed psychiatric overtones. As a profession, high school guidance personnel seem to be both overtrained and inappropriately trained, unable to define their functions and goals, and more concerned with college placement than job placement or student needs.

The increased need for effective guidance and counseling is more evident than how those functions should be performed, where they should be housed institutionally, what new types of personnel are needed, and how they can be obtained. College and job information and placement might be performed by the school or handled by an autonomous community guidance center which would be beholden to its clients rather than to educators or employers. Such an independent agency would certify all an individual's competencies and learnings, regardless of where obtained, since no current high school, with rare exceptions, awards school credit for learning which occurred outside its walls. Assistance with course and institution selection, as well as with "learning the ropes" of any given institution, are other important counseling functions. The former must be carried out more aggressively than at present to prevent students who lack direction or initiative from getting lost among the alternatives and falling out of the educational system. In addition, an education system which increases the contents and styles of learning settings needs some means of helping students to interrelate their disparate learning experiences. Some type of student advocacy or ombudsmanlike function also seems important. "Counselors" should be people of a variety of skills, backgrounds, experiences, and ages to be truly knowledgeable about options and requirements in the community at large.

To become viable, an adolescent education system offering a wide variety of inschool and out-of-school learning opportunities will require not only adaptations in the existing secondary education institutions but also supportive changes in the larger society. Educators alone cannot effectuate a wealth of rewarding local community learning options. Without adequate numbers of jobs or the alleviation of structural barriers to existing jobs (child labor laws, unemployment insurance, etc.) work experience will not be a realistic nonschool alternative for many adolescents. Other experiences will not be available either if local adults have no interest in integrating young people into their own daily activities and work places. Colleges also must alter their entrance requirements to sanction nonacademic

learnings before students with college ambitions will feel free to deviate from the traditional high school curriculum.

Most young people will not select options, regardless of how they are designed, which they clearly perceive society does not honor. In some cases, State and/or local regulations on educational governance and financing may require modification before various out-of-school learning experiences can be sanctioned by the educational system. The Federal Government might also try to encourage the development of local educational alternatives--perhaps by endorsing the creation of out-of-school learning settings or by funding the development and implementation of evaluation models of community-based learning experiences. For adolescents in the United States to be integrated into, rather than further isolated from, the workings and experiences of the larger society, the society as a whole must recognize that the school is not the only institution which needs to be actively involved with youth and their education.

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Chapter 7

KNOWLEDGE AND INVOLVEMENT FOR ADOLESCENTS IN THE DECISIONMAKING PROCESSES OF SOCIETY

Formal education in the United States has traditionally emphasized developing in the Nation's youth the skills and attitudes to understand and exercise their rights and responsibilities as citizens. Although structured efforts as "citizenship education" have varied, the schools have long transmitted the general ground rules for living and participating in this society and, particularly, the principles and mechanisms of the governmental system. The term "citizenship" has had differing connotations over the years, but has generally combined feelings of affiliation with the country and its heritage (loyalty, patriotism) with the disposition to take an active part in governmental affairs, at least through voting.[1]

Americans' loyalty to their political system and their formal social institutions results largely from a faith in the openness of those institutions to change and improvement.[2] Based on the concept of popular sovereignty--government of, by and for the people--U.S. institutions derive their legitimacy from a public belief in their constant process of amelioration--a process of which dissent, criticism and reform are important components. To the extent that social institutions absorb and respond to public input, citizens participate in social decisionmaking and therefore in social change. The ability of individuals and groups to exert influence on the system and its institutions has long been perceived in the United States as an important means of alleviating some of the social disparities resulting from race, sex, class, and family income.

The nature of contemporary U.S. society is making the exercise of many basic American principles increasingly difficult. Vast technological development and rapid urbanization have been accompanied by increases in the size, complexity, and intradependency of society and its formal institutions, both public and private. The result has been to minimize the extent to which an individual can determine his social environment or that the public can significantly influence governing bodies. The expanding organizational interests, clientele, bureaucratic structures, and impersonality in government, business, and professional and service agencies are turning the concept of "consent of the governed," with its concomitant assumption of institutional responsiveness, into historic truisms that are increasingly questioned. Studies show that the acceleration of centralization within organizations is increasing and is leading to greater "alienation" of the masses of people within them. Decisionmaking processes which affect the lives of most Americans significantly (concerning

the number and types of available jobs, the quality of the natural environment, the nature of the goods and services which dominate daily life, for instance) are usually remote from and unresponsive to the individual citizen. The burgeoning "life-support systems," encompassing most of the health, housing, transportation, educational, and other services to the population, are today too complex and inclusive for significant individual or group intercession. Although, historically, the majority of Americans have not actively participated in many of society's decisionmaking processes, never before has the power to make and implement those decisions been so concentrated in huge managerial institutions and corporations, where decisionmaking experts, specialists, and professionals are generally insulated from the general public.[3]

If formal education is to prepare today's youth adequately for participation in the "civitas," it will have to equip them to deal with U.S. society and its institutions as they now exist, as well as how they were originally intended to operate. One possibly negative approach is to help young people develop those attitudes and behaviors--passivity, willingness to follow instructions, and obedience--which should help institutionalized systems to operate most smoothly. The needs of the large high school for the orderly movement of hundreds and thousands in effect produces a well-run obedience machine. But such a conscious goal for our schools goes against the thrust of the Nation's heritage. Recent trends towards the critical examination of established institutions and procedures and one's relation to them, as well as organized attempts by various groups to regain some control over their lives, suggest that active individual participation in social decisions is both possible and rewarding. Good learning theory also strongly suggests the need for the student learner to be a goal setter and evaluator.

For the young to acquire the skills in decisionmaking, communication, persuasion, group organization, and fund-raising necessary to influence social institutions effectively, schools and other educational alternatives will have to make the principle of, and the skills for, citizen involvement much more central to their "citizenship education" efforts. This is not to say that the traditional provision of information is not important. However, the civic information that adolescents need in addition to ideal or abstract descriptions of political structures are concrete facts about U.S. public and private institutions and how they actually operate, both individually and collectively. Too few Americans know how to move through the court system, advance their interests as consumers, or utilize such existing due process mechanisms as collective bargaining or income tax appeal. A young person must also acquire analytical and critical skills, as well as information about social institutions, if he is to be able to navigate "the system" effectively. The curriculum of citizenship education becomes a do-it-yourself manual in individual and group action to make the system serve its clients.

The ability to exert influence on these social institutions and processes, even if exercised by an individual only occasionally or without appreciable success, is central to theories both of democratic government and effective learning. In addition, individual participation in situations affecting oneself is important for ethical reasons.

> Much of the work in ethics implies that moral judgments must be made autonomously and that one's action must have effects in reality. The fewer skills or abilities (one) has to exert influence in the world, the more (one) must submit to deterministic forces, and the less (one) can act as an autonomous agent. If (a person) is unable to engage in action which actually exerts influence on or affects reality, according to (his) autonomous intentions, then (that person) is in a sense incapable of moral action.[4]

This does not mean, of course, that the presence or absence of an individual's ability to exert influence over a situation is the sole indication of whether he will act morally.

An individual's ability to exercise influence in his environment is also important in a psychological sense, since it seems to contribute to the development of the ego-strength or identity critical in a sense of self-worth.[5] A number of theories suggest that operating in an active rather than a passive role is a human developmental need. "A healthy identity requires that a person be able to act upon the environment in such a way that the environment responds to some degree in accordance with the actor's intentions."[6]

This psychological benefit of actively attempting to influence one's environment may be particularly significant in the education of adolescents, especially since many of them are maturing earlier. As adults and young adults, 12- to 18-year-olds are increasingly entitled to and capable of having more voice over their own lives. In fact, people seem to learn the most about how and why to act responsibly by having to live with the consequences of their own decisions. In addition, research suggests that the years 12-16 represent a watershed in the emergence of an individual's political thought.

> By the time this period is at an end . . . (a young person's) mind moves with some agility within the terrain of political concepts; he has achieved abstractness, complexity, and even some delicacy in his sense of political textures; he is on the threshold of ideology, struggling to formulate a morally coherent view of how society is and might and should be arranged.[7]

This appears to be a good age, then, to help youth develop a firmly grounded academic and practical understanding of democratic philosophy and its operational ramifications in school and in out-of-school settings.

Learning about the workings of society's institutions--and nearly any other subject--is enhanced when it results from personal experience as well as academic study. Experience-based learning seems to have considerable potential for individual cognitive and affective development, since learning appears to improve when it occurs close to a situation of immediate concern to the learner. Functioning in social institutions and decisionmaking processes, while studying them, can provide first-hand knowledge of "civics" while breaking down adolescents' isolation from a vital area of the community's activities.

Adolescent knowledge of and participation in decisionmaking processes can benefit American society as a whole as well as the individuals involved. The last few years have seen the State and its authority--and every form of authority--challenged by the country's youth. Direct experience by young people in various decisionmaking processes and institutions might well lessen their disposition to see "the Establishment" as remote from their concerns and to strike out against it blindly or violently. Such adolescent involvement in society's institutions would also help to bridge the age-segregation so common in our culture and, hopefully, to improve the interpersonal relations between adolescents and older people.

The most successful way of learning how to cope with any institution seems to be by beginning with learning from and about the institution with which one has the most contact. For adolescents that institution is at present the secondary school. Involvement in an educational institution is especially important, since learning is an intimate process which, by definition, involves some active participation by the learner. John Dewey often emphasized "the importance of the participation of the learner in the formation of the purposes which direct his activities in the learning process."[8]

A recent study of secondary schools[9] found that the greater a student's ability to influence decisions in the school (especially in relation to a high degree of peer group integration), the greater his sense of control over his school life, and the smaller the personal frustration found to be a frequent cause of school disruption. A student's belief in internal control (which has a high positive correlation with academic achievement, achievement motivation, and favorable attitudes towards teachers and learning environments) was found most often in schools which practiced a significant sharing of decisionmaking opportunities among all the involved groups. Other research seems to support the finding that

the total amount of power in an organization is variable, rather than fixed, and that expanded opportunities for students to be influential in, and influenced by, the school does not have to mean less power for any other echelon.[10]

Schools in the United States have long concerned themselves with "citizenship education." As De Tocqueville observed in the 1840s, "In the United States politics are the end aim of education."[11] More recent authors have maintained that, as a consequence of this emphasis,

> Schools were expected to teach discipline and respect for authority . . . (permeate) the curriculum with moral instruction and patriotic exercises; . . . (and assume) the additional task of removing ethnic differences, fostering social equality, and eliminating highly individualistic conduct.[12]

Civics first emerged as an independent school subject during Washington's presidency, and was designed to teach formal American governmental structures through memorization. This original mechanism-oriented approach occasionally expanded to include a historical or developmental orientation. Not until the early 1900s, however, did the curriculum shift to an emphasis on political and social problems. This approach reflected both the feeling that citizenship education should go beyond history and political structures to all the social studies and the growing awareness of social problems that came with the great depression and the New Deal. By the late 1950s, the goals of civics were being expressed in behavioral terms in an attempt to bring unity into the social sciences through an emphasis on psychology and social psychology. Then during the 1960s a "new social studies" curriculum emerged, based on modes of thinking common to all the social studies. Method-oriented, this approach emphasized raising the level of students' discussions of questions of ethics and public display.

Social studies, especially as the means of transmitting "citizenship," has a number of weaknesses. Highly eclectic, the field appears to have no coherent purpose and urges a sequencing of material which appears little more than arbitrary. Citizenship is presented academically and is usually equated with studying the structure of the political system. The realities of how the political system operates, whom it favors, and how one participates are not generally examined, nor is the influence of such other factors as economics and tradition on society's operations. The school itself is rarely if ever seen as an institution to be studied. Too many citizenship programs do not deal with existing societal injustices, despite the fact that many youth consider themselves victims and are constantly informed about society's inequities by the media. A civics program that fails to make connections

between society's ideals and its persistent injustices promotes the cynicism often found among the young. Instructional silence on, and irrelevance to, current problems can also promote assumptions of hypocrisy and social apathy as cultural norms.

Political socialization studies have indicated that, for whatever reasons, the various standard curricular approaches to citizenship education do not make significant differences in students' understanding of the political system. Langton and Jennings found that loyalty, participation, use of media for political information, and the disposition to discuss politics showed "scant differences . . . as a consequence of whether the student had taken a more traditional American Government course or the topically-oriented, wider-ranging American Problems course." The authors concluded that, "If the educational system continues to invest sizable resources in government and civics courses at the secondary level--as seems most probable--there must be a radical restructuring of these courses in order for them to have any appreciable pay-off."[13]

Secondary schools do not, and have not tried to equip their students with the skills to cope with, influence, or participate in the decisionmaking processes of society's institutions. "The purpose of conventional instruction is not primarily to help the student influence reality, but to help him describe, define, explain, or evaluate it. In this sense, such a mode of instruction casts the student in a passive role."[14] While the ability to exert influence on one's environment utilizes skills in description, definition, explanation, and evaluation, it definitely requires that one be able to affect what one has analyzed.

In this matter, student government is particularly ineffective. Normally, a small percentage of students is given a limited amount of power and discretion to exercise in areas of relatively little significance to life within the institution. A recent study of high schools conducted by the University of Michigan School of Education reported that 44 percent of the students felt their government was "not effective" or "not at all effective," as opposed to 28 percent who rated it "effective" or "very effective" (28 percent were neutral). The authors of the study expressed particular concern over this high dissatisfaction level since student government in most schools is the only channel through which students can voice their concerns.[15]

Schools, then, rarely contribute to an individual's ability to participate in institutions and their decisionmaking processes. More than that, they frequently develop counter-productive behavior and attitudes in students. Rather than representing the participatory democracy described in civics classes, schools reflect a highly structured, paternalistic (many say authoritarian) situation in which virtually every area is prescribed. Passivity, conformity, and obedience are more seriously

and consistently rewarded than critical thinking or activism (broadly defined). As Edgar Friedenberg has said, "What is learned in high school depends far less on what is taught than on what one actually experiences in the place."[16] The contradiction between the rhetoric and reality of democratic government in the high school makes it difficult for students to understand or prepare for the role of United States citizens. According to the New York Civil Liberties Union Student Rights report,

> The effect on students of this double standard has been disastrous. Cynicism, disbelief in the rule of law and the sense that the schools are a massive spectacle of hypocrisy are widespread among students. Students cannot be taught in their classes about . . . freedom of the press while their own leaflets and newspapers are censored. They cannot be taught about James Madison and freedom of speech while they are prevented from distributing a handbook that describes their rights. They cannot be taught about due process and the presumption of innocence while they are subject to arbitrary and unfair procedures. Above all, they cannot be taught about the rule of law while they themselves are ruled by officials who seem to be above the law.[17]

The Panel recommends that the concept and reality of "citizenship education" be expanded to include broad participation of youth in society's public and private institutions. The goal of participation can be approached in a variety of ways. First, high schools should undertake at least some curriculum adaptation and/or expansion. Participants at the 1971 White House Conference on Youth suggested that the secondary schools develop courses on political principles and processes which use the community as a laboratory. "The courses should be organized in an independent study and seminar structure in which a student selects a community institution to study, becomes actively involved in it, and then returns to share experiences and observations in a seminar."[18] Alternatively, students could do independent research projects on such community-oriented topics as the growth and deterioration of a given local neighborhood or industry. The schools might also offer courses in propaganda analysis, the concepts of power and its uses, and the health, transportation, and other United States "life-support" systems. A discussion of the latter might well attempt to explicate and discuss societal and individual values by raising students' awareness of how the valued commodities and services in our society are produced, who receives them and how, and how institutions can be structured to maximize society's values.

Another inschool possibility is student organizations devoted to public affairs. Designed on a national basis with input from political parties, unions, and other organizations, these clubs could combine an

advanced level analysis of public policy issues with opportunities to observe and participate in the political process with local and national competitions and awards. The Panel is convinced that such groups should enlist the participation of adults.

In addition to various curricular changes, the Panel urges that students be given a voice in the policy and governance of the educational system. The Panel agrees with the recommendation of the White House Conference on Youth that "Government at all levels . . . should include students on all its educational boards. State, county, and local government agencies should have student representation."[19] High school students should have voting, not merely advisory, powers on these bodies whenever possible. Additional efforts are needed to include racial and ethnic minorities, noncollege preparatory students, and other youth not usually involved even in student government.

Calls for increased student participation in schools are often met with arguments that such actions would decrease the professional management and operation of the schools or result in "education by whim." Such presumed problems necessitate the careful planning of youth involvement opportunities, rather than their continued nonimplementation. It is also possible, for instance, that the students' energy, intelligence, creativity, and immediate concern for schools could be used by administrators to attack the problems confronting education today. Youth involvement might be strengthened by students' participation in a mock school board election or crisis management situation in which the schools' legal, financial, and public responsibilities and restrictions become clearer. Since 12- to 18-year-olds are the ones most affected by educational policies, these young adults need to be involved in the decisionmaking processes of schools and other educational alternatives. Although students do not have the professional expertise to make basic administrative decisions about staff or plant expenditures, their input concerning curriculums, rules for student conduct, and possible teacher evaluation, is relevant and important.[20] Schools are society's crucial laboratories for practicing the consequences of self-government. Within agreed limits students can learn under sane, harmless conditions what happens when a citizenry neglects or is fooled in its exercise of politics.

The question of the rights and responsibilities of adolescents within educational institutions has been raised frequently in the last few years. Much of the recent controversy seems to have resulted from the concentration of larger numbers of increasingly mature and socially sophisticated adolescents in schools where increasing size has generally been accompanied by greater institutional impersonality and arbitrariness. This situation has been accompanied by societal trends towards critical examination of established institutions and procedures and the increase in teachers' efforts to secure more power over their own lives and working

conditions. The issues of students' rights and responsibilities, however, includes both constitutional questions and institutional management considerations of how to treat people. Although the courts have generally refrained from intervention in the schools, the judiciary has begun supporting students in those areas of rights guaranteed under the Bill of Rights (freedom of speech, assembly, and the press), assumed under due process concepts, and related to protection from racism, sexism, and other forms of educational discrimination.[21] In the notable 1969 case of Tinker v. Des Moines Independent School District the Supreme Court extended the First Amendment rights of free speech to secondary school students.

> First, the majority of the Supreme Court recognizes that the process of education can be more important than its content in achieving educational aims . . . The majority asserts in its ruling that 'state-operated schools may not be enclaves of totalitarianism. School officials do not possess absolute authority over their students . . .' But the Supreme Court recognizes that this diminution of teacher authority will actually enhance the educational process, since, as it wrote, 'The Nation's future depends upon leaders trained through wide exposure to that robust exchange of ideas which discovers truth out of a multitute of tongues, rather than through any kind of authoritative selection.'[22]

The Panel endorses the recommendation of the White House Conference on Youth that all schools and other educational alternatives for adolescents devise, with participation by all significant constituencies, a "code of students rights, responsibilities, and conduct which will clearly define the legal and social relationships of the institutions to the student and the student to the institution."[23] Such a code, as the White House Conference suggested, right well include:

> An explanation of how the application of the basic U.S. freedoms apply to students within the formal educational institutions; . . . an enumeration of administrative, faculty and student responsibilities, especially regarding not unreasonably interfering with the orderly educational process; . . . a delineation of the procedural safeguards on the imposition of penalties; . . . a statement of the degree to which students shall be involved in various areas of each educational institution's decisionmaking; . . . a guarantee of participation by all groups in the revision of the original code.[24]

Rules of conduct and delineations of student rights need to be specified for students to follow and to minimize arbitrary enforcement; they need to be written to protect all transient school populations. These agreements should exist for each secondary school and/or school district,

but might also be written into State school laws, State and local policies, and teacher contracts. Rules of conduct should apply to all persons in the school, not just to students. The issue of adolescent rights and responsibilities is not limited to the schools, however. It is closely related to widespread societal treatment in the United States of youth as less equal than older people.

Other means of broadening participation in educational decisionmaking include establishing joint decisionmaking groups involving students in areas of curriculum and personnel.[25] Smaller educational units can also promote greater student involvement and control by increasing students' access to all the people and activities within the school, decreasing the need for highly formal and rigid rules and procedures, and preventing collective student involvement efforts from assuming mob proportions or characteristics. All such steps to restructure power relationships within the schools should be accompanied by training administrators, teachers, students, and community members in the concept and possibilities of variable (as opposed to "fixed") total power within an organization to show how increasing one group's power does not have to mean decreasing the power of another.[26] Also important is training in nonviolent strategies for gaining and effectively using power, and the development of skills for understanding the school structure, making decisions, and organizing for collective action. Training in the nature of persuasion, the disciplines of fact finding, the organizing needs of groups, and the use of media are basic requirements of the school.

In addition to changes within the existing secondary school system, meaningful youth knowledge about and participation in institutional decisionmaking can be effectively pursued in the broader community. Such efforts require that adults outside the schools assume more responsibility for youth and their education. Adolescents can serve as interns in public agencies, as they are doing in the successful Executive High School Internships Programs in New York City. Juniors and seniors there take a 1-semester sabbatical from their regular studies to serve as unpaid special assistants to senior officials in government, private nonprofit agencies, civic organizations, educational and cultural institutions, mass communications, and the private sector. They spend 4 days a week with their sponsors, attending policy meetings and conferences, making presentations, following up on special assignments, and developing collegial relationships with these executives. The interns also attend weekly seminars conducted by program staff on urban policy development and administration. Participants submit projects to their schools at the end of the semester and receive full academic credit. Although this program is funded jointly by New York City's Human Resources Administration and Board of Education, similar activities could presumably be sponsored by school boards, individual or joint community agencies, or such independent citizens' groups as the League of Women Voters.

A related public internship project is the Dymany Program, which offers 17- to 20-year-olds "a coordinated year of work and study and involvement in the life of a representative city--Worcester, Mass."[27] Each of the five internships--in politics, government, business, labor, and private agencies--includes some routine and some creative, independent projects.

An additional nonschool approach is to open up and/or design various "public action" activities for interested youth. These activities could include working for a candidate or issue in local elections, organizing local environmental cleanup campaigns, making a film about a local social problem, developing and conducting questionnaires on day care centers or zoning laws, investigating policies and practices of local government agencies, and watch-dogging newly implemented reforms. In some projects, youth have been trained to help juvenile offenders in areas not requiring professional legal knowledge or to assist tenants in dilapidated housing get their homes repaired. Action-learning or DUO (Do Unto Others--a school-sanctioned volunteer work in several States) programs can also offer various public action opportunities. In all these the Panel stresses the importance of joint adult-adolescent involvement.

Such action-oriented projects may involve "behind the scenes" activity or more dramatic, publicly visible work. They may aim toward the selection of officials and representatives or toward persuading officials already in power. They may include efforts to maintain existing policy and to urge change. Students may be cast in the role of creative initiators, critical protesters, leaders, or followers.[28] Adolescent participation is especially important in the decisionmaking and implementing of programs--educational, delinquency prevention, drug use, etc.--which directly affect them.

Public interest groups are not--and should not be--limited to youthful members. Most communities have a number of public and private agencies that should encourage adolescents and older people to participate as coequal members. Some adolescents might work under the auspices of such organizations as the Connecticut Citizens Action Group (a State affiliate of Ralph Nader's National Center for the Study of Responsive Law), the American Cancer Society, or community review groups attempting to provide public monitoring and supervision of local public or private institutions. Others might serve as youthful spokesmen or ombudsmen within consumer groups, local businesses, hospitals, or boards of local corporations.

Although the list of public action possibilities for youth is only limited by a community's interest and imagination, a number of potential problems exist in their implementation. Investigative or advocacy efforts can easily generate hostility from the agencies involved, inflammatory

press coverage, and bad public relations. The sponsoring educational institution, if any, might be accused of engaging in partisan activities and jeopardizing the doctrines of academic freedom and security from political pressure. Activities of these types, especially, would be well served by "how-to" training or booklets for teachers and youth to help them develop the political sophistication necessary to minimize public hostility, and to deal with it when it does occur.

Other problems can arise in community-based learning. Traditionally, such youth involvement has been accompanied by adult paternalism, direction, and even manipulation. Some opportunities to participate have been opened to adolescents to motivate them to do something else or to neutralize their opposition to program or institutional goals. In addition, adolescent apathy, lack of interest, and inertia--as well as parental anxiety--are obstacles to active institutional participation by many youth.

The juvenile justice system can be another focal point of learning and involvement for young people, especially with the high incidence of youth contact with the law and the low level of general knowledge about that system. In one program sponsored by the Office of Economic Opportunity, high school seniors in Boston learned about the law by doing research, assuming various roles, and arguing legal cases in their own classroom court. Social role playing exercises need not be limited to the judicial system, of course. In other communities, youth model courts allow adolescents to assume the position of judge, prosecuting attorney, defense attorney, defendant, jury, probation officer, case worker, and court clerk. In Lexington, Kentucky, the youth court became so efficient in handling peer discipline problems that it often received referrals for disposition and followup from the city court.

Although the form may vary, all these inschool and out-of-school programs represent serious attempts to enable youth to participate more directly in American life, institutions, and decisionmaking processes. The varying degrees of complexity and sophistication of these activities (from classroom discussions of propaganda to increased student participation in the school to community investigatory activities) enable adolescents of all chronological and maturational ages to learn more directly about the operation of U.S. society and its institutions. Academic credit for all such activities should be available whenever the adolescent has performed responsibly.

Careful evaluation of both student and program performance, however, is essential. Few data exist on successful means of teaching or evaluating effective citizen behavior in a modern technological and democratic society. The development of proficiency measures of practical political skills (propaganda analysis, verbal persuasion, fund-raising, etc.) may prove useful in this regard. Thoughtful evaluation is also important because most

community-based learning experiences are, understandably, highly individualistic and influenced by too many factors beyond the school's control for any clear accountability model to apply. Regardless of these operational considerations, the Panel suggests that the importance of adolescents learning about and participating in American institutions and decisionmaking processes makes it imperative that the educational system assume a new posture towards "citizenship education."

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19 Ibid.

20 Ibid.

21 "Facts and Feelings," op. cit.

22 Berkman, op. cit.

23 White House Conference on Youth, op. cit.

24 Ibid.

25 Wittes, op. cit.

26 Ibid.

27 "Dymany Program," flyer, 1970-71, 37 Harvard Street, Worcester, Mass.

28 Newmann, op. cit.

Chapter 8

PROVIDING AESTHETIC EXPERIENCES FOR ADOLESCENTS*

The arts, according to all reports, are peripheral concerns in the American high school today, and there is general agreement that no more than 21 percent of high school students have any meaningful contact with art education. English, or literature, remains to some degree the exception, but works of literature have seldom been treated explicitly as works of art. Also, there appears to be a shift away from the study of imaginative literature to the study of linguistics, rhetoric, or what is called "communication," an inclusive category allowing for minimal focus on art qua art.

The Panel's proposal here is that the several arts be given a central place in the high school curriculum and that they be conceived in an integral relationship with the traditional subjects. The argument has to do with the ways in which participation in and encounters with the arts contribute to the quest for meaning, the ways in which they provide perceptual education, and the ways in which they enable individuals to orient themselves critically and creatively to the environment and the social world. The primary concern will be the possibility of reconceiving the high school curriculum so as to make the arts a significant part of each young person's everyday reality.

What John Goodlad recently said about the "imbalances" in the curriculum still applies, most particularly in the high schools of this Nation:

> In spite of an assumed 'culture explosion,' we continue in the schools to neglect art, music, drama, dance, sculpture, and, in fact, almost everything that smacks of being nonutilitarian.[1]

Rudolph Arnheim, arguing for renewed attention to the importance of perception, makes a complementary point:

> By the time the competition for college placement becomes acute, it is a rare high school that insists on reserving for the arts the time needed to make their practice at all fruitful. Rarer still is the institution at which a concern for the arts is consciously justified by the realization that they contribute indispensably to the development of a reasoning and imaginative human being.[2]

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*The major part of this chapter is excerpted from Maxine Greene's background paper, "The Arts in the American High School: A Proposal," prepared for the Panel.

Numerous observers of the schools acknowledge that no one can predict any longer what knowledge will be "of most worth" in the coming years. Others, like Arnheim, find the cause of general education to be poorly served when the arts are treated as a "supplement." Still others, arguing for the intrinsic value of aesthetic sensitivity, find human fulfillment frustrated in schools that make the arts merely instrumental or view them as ornaments, mere frills. Most are aware, in spite of public proclamations about the significance of the arts, that the artistic-aesthetic does not in any sense permeate the day-to-day life of the American high school. The sounds of Mozart, the best of good jazz are never audible in the corridors. There are no sculptures on the landings, no Rembrandts or de Koonings hanging in the light. Few youngsters dash through the halls in leotards; there are no quiet corners for reading poetry to friends. If a choral work is being prepared, the participants gather after school. The same is true of drama. Almost never does an awareness of an organic and functioning theatre charge the atmosphere of a school with energy and concern. As one commentator after another makes clear, the arts continue to be treated as agreeable ornaments in the everyday reality of schools.

There is a kind of irony in this when serious questions are being raised regarding what is actually learned in existing classrooms and about the correlation between success in the study of the traditional "hard subjects" and later success on the job.[3] It is no longer possible to take for granted the utility or the efficiency of a curriculum focused on "words and numbers" or "cognitive skills." The failures have been widely recognized; the explanations are manifold and diverse. They range from references to rapid social and technological change to talk of the disinterest or the ineffectuality of those being asked to learn. Some critics speak of the evils of compulsion, of intrinsic irrelevance, and of an inevitable alienation on the part of the young. Others stress the sterility and "joylessness" in the classroom. Still others propose new methodologies: distovery, inquiry, experimentation, exploration, encounter, contact, and many more.

Fully aware of the unsettled questions and the dearth of empirical support for any proposal, the Panel is convinced that the arts should be given a central place in the high school curriculum. The motivation is neither whimsy, elitism, nor a sense of faddishness. Members of the Panel do not believe the arts represent a panacea for everything that ails the high school--or, for that matter, the troubled adolescent of our time--nor do they believe that the arts have the capacity to bring about a moral revolution or even, necessarily, to improve the quality of most people's lives. The Panel is convinced, however, that the fundamental reorientation required by a consideration of the arts as focal can open up new perspectives on the function of the high school today. Possibilities for new kinds of

fulfillment may be revealed. New patterns of integration may be discerned, as well as new vantage points on the quest for meanings. There is, as Albert Camus once wrote, "a whole civilization to be remade."[4]

The Panel's argument for the centrality of the arts begins with an emphasis on the importance of enabling individuals to recover themselves as persons. It happens that participation in and informed encounters with the arts can only be conducted by people who are aware of themselves as individuals and to some degree conscious of personal efficacy. A passive member of a crowd is incapable of an authentic art experience because he is not present as an individual with a distinctive biography, a unique "life world." It follows that the process of educating young people for participation in and encounters with the arts must be a process of liberating them to find and be themselves.

This is true, to an extent, of all effective teaching, especially that geared to the deliberate stimulation of critical thinking. But teaching in the art fields is distinctively concerned with subjectivity and with reflexiveness. To engage authentically with a novel, a painting, a film, or a musical work, the individual--by dint of imaginative activity--must release himself into his own subjectivity and, at once, cultivate an awareness of his own awareness, of what is happening to him as he discloses the work of art to himself. John Dewey wrote:

> Art throws off the covers that hide the expressiveness of experienced things; it quickens us from the slackness of routine and enables us to forget ourselves by finding ourselves in the delight of experiencing the world about us in its varied qualities and forms. It intercepts every shade of expressiveness found in objects and orders them in a new experience of life.[5]

What Dewey did not stress sufficiently was that the experiences he was describing take place within "inner time" or the stream of consciousness. Illustrating this in a discussion of musical experience, Alfred Schutz pointed out that an attentive listener reproduces in his inner time the flow of tones composing a musical work. When this happens, he comes united with the composer in a time dimension like the "vivid present shared by the partners in a genuine face-to-face relation . . . ."[6]

Whatever the art form, disclosures and discoveries of this sort are inconceivable if the listener, reader, or beholder has not broken with the generalized, abstract reactions of the "crowd." Each one must be enabled to approach the work of art--the Mozart quintet, the Keats poem, the Cezanne painting--actively, searchingly, personally. He must be ready, as Jean-Paul Sartre says with regard to literature, to lend the work some of his life.[7] In every case, the interior journey that results is undertaken with the artist as guide; but what is discovered on the journey can only be

tne individual's own landscape, the materials of his own consciousness. The point is that experiences with the arts are distinctive for the way they lead to self-disclosure, to an acute awareness of the self.

Obviously, this cannot happen automatically. Young people have to be initiated into the domains of art. As much care, as much deliberate teaching are required for perceptive encounters as for skilled performances; they may be two sides of a single coin. This does not mean that Moby Dick, say, or Picasso's Guernica, or the Moonlight Sonata appeals to but one aspect of the human personality and bypasses the mind. The proposal that the arts be made central to the curriculum derives partly from the view that encounters with them can feed into the quest for meaning which is mainly a cognitive quest. To engage with Moby Dick is to be plunged into questioning on many levels--questioning that cannot but touch on the fundamental themes of a reader's life, on all he is seeking for, on all that he has learned. So it is with Guernica, which must not be experienced as a rendering of an actual bombing or even as a protest against a particular war. It must be encountered in terms of the images it presents, the forms, the whites and blacks. Even as the beholder responds emotionally and sensually, as he must, he cannot but ask himself questions about destruction and tragedy, questions about the endless history of pain and of man's inhumanity to man. A musical work like the Moonlight Sonata clearly appeals most exclusively to the listener's emotional and intuitive self; he is asked to attend to the expressive sounds as he articulates its steps in his inner time.

Rudolf Arnheim, concerned with the part the arts play in sense-making, puts his main stress on visual perception and its unit with thought. "By furnishing images of kinds of qualities, kinds of objects, kinds of events, visual perception lays the groundwork of concept formation."[8] Arnheim says that the same thought processes by which the mind manipulates concepts operate in direct perception and in the interactions between perception and stored experience, "as well as in the imagination of the artist, the scientist, and indeed any person handling problems 'in his head'." Because perceptual thinking involves selection, organization, and model-making, it is the most productive kind of thinking there is. And the art studio, according to Arnheim, is the place where the most effective teaching of perceptual thinking can take place; it is there that people can learn to organize visual patterns, explore the great range of forms available in the world, and master the techniques for making visible what is ordinarily hidden or obscure.

This is not, of course, the only argument for the centrality of the arts, although there are connections between such a view and various notions having to do with self-fulfillment and self-actualization. Abraham H. Maslow believed deeply that the primary aim of education was to enable all

persons to become the best they could possibly become. He thought that art experiences should be made basic to education, since they had so much to do with the search for identity. Discussing what he called "peak experiences" and self-development in one of his last articles before he died, Maslow wrote:

> The final impression that I want to try to work out is that effective education in music, art, dancing, and rhythm is intrinsically far closer to the kind of education I think necessary than is the usual "core curriculum"; that is, it is closer to the goal of learning one's identity . . . . In this realm of intrinsic learning, intrinsic teaching and intrinsic education, I think that the arts are so close to our psychological and biological core, so close to this identity, this biological identity, that rather than think of these courses as a sort of whipped cream or luxury, we must let them become basic experiences in our education.[9]

"Intrinsic education" means, of course, education for its own sake. For Maslow it meant learning to be human and, as well, to be "this particular human being." Music, rhythm, dancing, and the visual arts provide, as he saw it, the kinds of experiences that bring release from anxiety and empty conformity; they make possible new perceptions, "illumination, insight, understanding, ecstasy."[10] If this is indeed the case (as it seems to be for numbers of young people), the arts may be potential "triggers" for the expansion of consciousness and the accompanying illuminations certain individuals seek in drug experiences. Full and aware involvement of the kind Maslow has described may serve to counteract the feelings of dullness and anomie that drive some high school students towards conformity with the drug culture and the promise of "turning on." Again, however, skilled and involved teachers are required to make art experiences available and significant.

For too long, as many have pointed out, the schools concentrated upon performance and expression, to the exclusion of aesthetic experiences and encounters. Kathryn Bloom wrote, for instance, that one of the main reasons for the poor estate of the arts in the schools is "that music education is concerned mainly with performance and the visual arts with the materials of the artist."

> These approaches are perfectly appropriate for very young children. But by the time youngsters reach high school the subjects offered have become so specialized that they require particular talents and abilities. Courses rarely take into account the interests and capabilities of many students for whom the arts can be sources of personal understanding and enjoyment--the large percentage of young people who take no art or music in the secondary schools.[11]

This fact may make the old dichotomy between performance and appreciation irrelevant where the high schools are concerned. The problem is to involve young people with the arts in such a way they do become "sources of personal understanding and enjoyment," while at the same time providing opportunities for the enrichment of perception and the making of authentic personal statements.

Breaking through a variety of either/ors--cognitive/noncognitive, performance/appreciation, perceptual/sensual--the Panel proposes an integrated, humanist curriculum with the arts at the core. Of the first importance is a conscious refusal to treat the arts as finished products, like antique objects in the glass cases of a museum. Eric Larrabee properly warns us not to damn the emphasis on creativity too soon "before it has any real impact on the secondary school teaching or the humanities, which is still as much a matter of rote and formula as it ever was."[12] It should be possible for students to gain in the capacity for perception and expression while engaging actively with the arts.

The exponents of creativity used to worry about the paralyzing effect of "models" on the young and about the temptation to "copy" recognized works of art. In the high school, all depends on how the works of art are presented to young people. If the teacher acts like a missionary from the House of Intellect and treats his students like benighted aborigines, Rembrandt's The Anatomy Lesson, Bach's cantatas, the ballet Swan Lake, or The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn will each become no more than an ancient artifact or what D. H. Lawrence called a "ponderosity." The teacher, rather, should himself be openly involved in sensemaking and in confrontations. He should not come to his class with the conviction that he has exhausted the work of art with which he is concerned (as if any great work of art were exhaustible). Each work, be it the Rembrandt, the Bach, or the Mark Twain, ought to remain an open question for the teacher. To serve as model for students, the teacher might try to present himself as someone engaging perceptively and questioningly with each art form--as if, in a sense, for the first time.

This is the juncture, in a high school as well as in a college classroom, at which criticism comes into play. The good critic, writes Arnold Isenberg, "gives us directions for perceiving, and does this by means of the idea he imparts to us, which . . . guides us in the discrimination of details, the organization of parts . . . ."[13] So it is with the good teacher, responding to the students' comments and questions and interchanges, helping them discriminate and see. He points, as it were, to qualities within a work, to color combinations, melodic sequences, metaphors and symbols, the actions composing the plot, the imaginary space within a film. Pointing, he can strive to afford his students the kinds of perceptions which will enable them to engage more freely with the work, more effectually to choose themselves. That, after all, is the test: whether or not he can intensify each individual's appreciation, enrich his vision, free him to bring the work of art into being for himself.

It is possible that "something out there" will have a greater power to elicit the interest of certain students if they are given opportunities to work with the medium involved. Jon Roush writes:

> Education must provide all students with some capacity for sensual perception and expression, with an understanding of the necessary interplay of perception and expression. The judgment of human creations obviously requires the ability to perceive different options. The student needs to know what the past can provide in the way of models of perception, and he will need to experiment with ways to perceive and ways to integrate his own perceptions. To the extent that he is aware of the continuity of his mode of seeing (or hearing, or touching, or reading) with that of other men, he will have a sense of rootedness in a tradition which he can accept as his own. But the mode of seeing must still be genuinely his. He will be the creator of his own perception, and that means he must know what it means to create an object or event with artistry.[14]

The implication is for an integration of creative opportunities into the humanistic curriculum. Mark Schubart, in his account of performing arts institutions for the young, stresses the connection between participation in an artistic activity and the ability to enjoy "excellent artistry." He reports on a conference at Pound Ridge, N.Y., in which the artists and educators agreed on the importance of the interaction between doing and observing (or reading or listening). "They saw the combination as generating a self-perpetuating process: from participating in artistic activity to discovering more about oneself and one's world to heightened perception to greater enjoyment from observing professional artistry to a desire for further participation in artistic activity, and so forth."[15] Lincoln Center had already discovered, as its program developed, that professional plays became more meaningful to young people when they had been given opportunities for dramatic improvisation or performances in dramatic workshops.

The problem of the high school is to make participatory experiences possible--for the sake of heightened aesthetic perception, not so much for their own sake. Bennett Reimer justifies a stress on musical performance (for other than the talented few) by the way in which it can contribute to increasing aesthetic sensitivity.[16] Stephen Spender, discussing the focal significance of learning to use language, talks of the importance of teaching young people to write as well as read. He says that people read better if they write better. The important point is that they come to appreciate language as a medium of communication:

> What is vitally important in education is that people should communicate, that they should develop to the greatest extent their awareness of themselves and of others, that they should learn to have contact with the life and the values of the past enclosed in masterpieces, with the same freedom as they might speak to a wholly articulate and vividly alive friend or neighbor.[17]

There appear to be similar approaches to the graphic arts today as well. Analytic questions are suggested: how is the painting structured? how or why did the artist use line, color, and form as he did? They are questions related to encounters with particular works, encounters deepened and enriched by studio experiences and, ideally, by contact with some art-world. Harold Rosenberg talks explicitly of the need to include "the making of paintings and sculptures" in the enterprise of teaching art. He believes as well that students must be and can be educated in "the processes employed by artists in producing their works, in their attitudes toward their materials, in the character of their visual experience . . . ." He goes on to say that "Art is culture, the culture developed by artists over millennia of creation. The subject matter of an art course, even in the lowest grades, is the artist and what he does and has done. It is not self-expression, or psychology of creation, or rules of how to match colors and harmonize forms."[18] And, indeed, this may be one of the chief arguments for artists-in-residence in the high schools: to acquaint interested students with the making that is art, to bring them in touch with a live art-world.

But the central problems remain. How can the high school's curriculum be pervaded by the arts? How can serious teaching of the several arts proceed, given all the difficulties of relating different art forms? What can be done to relate the arts to the academic disciplines without making them ornamental or mere motivational tools?

Surely, there must be multiple opportunities for study and for performance. Painting studios, pottery kilns, dance studios, yes, even poetry studios should be available to those attracted to and involved in the study of particular art forms. Care must be taken, however, to avoid superficiality and mere dilettantism. A balance must be struck between requiring the same art experiences for all students and relying on momentary taste or whim. One possibility might be to connect a study of the arts in their inter-relationships with studies of distinctive art forms. The "core" course might be structured by means of the principles associated with aesthetic education, principles having to do with the perception of forms and the expression of feelings. It would involve encounters with particular works: paintings, sculptures, plays, films, novels, poems, musical masterworks. At the same time, the individual student might choose to concentrate--in related studio work--upon a single art form. In the studio, he might

experiment with a relevant medium while engaging with selected works of art. If his interest were in poetry, say, he might read a group of poems indicating the diversity of options where form is concerned, language, even theme. The works chosen might range from Wordsworth's Tintern Abbey to Sylvia Plath's Daddy, to indicate the possibilities where expressional and confessional poetry is concerned; and the student himself might try his hand at some feeling or experience "recollected in tranquillity" or recalled in present pain. If the student's interest were in film, on the other hand, he might be enabled to study a series of films--Ingmar Bergman films, perhaps, films about picaresque heroes, comedies. The peculiar dream-like quality of the film experience might be explored, along with the impact of different sorts of images, the compression of incidents, the nature of visual metaphors and cinematic space. At once, aspects of technique might be studied: camera angles, cuts, pans, montage; and, if properly equipped, the students might be given opportunities to make short films of their own.

The immediate and particular experiences, however, would feed into the "core" course, which would scarcely have meaning if students were not thoroughly acquainted with at least one art form. The dangers of generality and abstraction are great; the protection against them is to be found in a clear understanding of the autonomy of each art. Susanne Langer made this clear when she wrote about the importance of taking each art as autonomous, "and asking about each in turn what it creates, what are the principles of creation in this art, what its scope and possible materials."[19]

James Ackerman, proposing a college art program under the title Education and Vision, presents some ideas for interdisciplinary teaching which may well be of value for the high school, particularly the school that has made the arts central to its concerns. He, too, is thinking of a studio program in integration with more general classwork; and he makes some specific suggestions respecting the relationships of the arts to their contexts of culture and value. "Here are four possible choices," he says; and, although he is thinking about older students, there seems to be no reason why his ideas (or variants of them) cannot be adapted to the secondary school:

> Society and Art: An anthropologist presents the art and artifacts of two or three different cultures . . . bringing out the relationship of the societal structure to the objects it produces . . . . Studio problems might be stimulated by the objects themselves . . . .
> Aspects of Structure in Nature and Art: A natural scientist offers a series of lectures, demonstrations, and small group discussions on structures from elemental particles to complex minerals, or a biologist discusses the organization of simple forms of life . . . .

> Concurrently, in the studio, students study the implications of natural structure for the making of structures in various media.
> Visual Perception: A psychologist leads discussions on the nature of perception with emphasis on the way we receive visual information; the way our experience and expectation affects what we perceive; the artist's perception of his environment; the viewer's perception of a work of art . . . . Studio projects pursue problems of illusion, with emphasis on the relation of the individual to the visual world around him.
> Man and Machine: An instructor with a philosophical or literary background--a poet might be a good choice--examines different modern images (in literature, art, theatre, and film) of the theme: man and the machine. This could be the introduction of the fundamentals of linguistic analysis and consideration of its relevance for work in the studio . . . .[20]

An arts program, in other words, can radiate in manifold directions, if arrangements are made for a continual interplay between actual confrontations in the studio and cognitive study in a contextual domain outside.

It is clear, of course, that no curriculum can be devised which holds relevance for all high school students everywhere. Various adaptations, various accommodations must be made, especially to diverse tastes and ethnic backgrounds. Francis A. J. Ianni commented, at a conference on The Arts and the Poor, that the very term "culturally disadvantaged" connotes a host of false values. "I have seen," he said, "very few programs in the arts which do not attempt to take the best of what 'we' have to offer in order to help 'them' fit better into our world.[21] Often, too, arts programs are instituted in order to eradicate the sense of failure experienced by young people ostensibly weak in cognitive skills. The cathartic value in certain types of artistic expression and the contributions made to the development of perceptual skills can be granted. It is not enough, however, to offer enjoyment and perceptual awakening to the poor. "Free writing," wall painting, film making, photography, and dramatic improvisation can be justified educationally only when they are integrated with appropriate efforts at sense-making, the deliberate ordering of experience, and the pursuit of a degree of mastery. In addition, reports on various extra-school programs make it clear that they are justified if they feed into what is called praxis--of the kind of knowing concerned with transforming social reality.[22] The arts programs organized after the riots in Watts are examples, as are the Soul and Latin Street Theatre, the Afro-Hispanic Poets' Workshop, and other community undertakings. So were some of the efforts made by HARYOU-ACT in New York when demands were raised, not simply for job training, but "for programs that allow for more individual achievement and expression." High school administrators and art teachers can learn that the most successful programs for minorities

have been those initiated by the groups themselves, programs which explored--and restored dignity to--an ethnic or racial heritage. The most significant programs have been those that enlisted the creative energies of poor and oppressed individuals to transform the quality of their own lives.

It might be possible, in certain schools, to involve young persons in designing their own work places, their own gardens, their own studios within the school building and outside. It might be possible to adjust to group and individual differences by organizing some schools into centers or institutes, each one concerned with a particular problem (neighborhood planning, recreation, jobs and vocations, utopias, day care centers, moral codes, intergroup relations, war and peace), each one involving integrated studies in the arts and the academic disciplines. It might be possible to create a theatre at the heart of a public high school and to treat that theatre as central to the curriculum. Theatre, of all the arts, is multidisciplinary; a functioning and relevant theatre could involve its participants in acting, writing, criticism, scene design, economics, public relations, history, cultural anthropology, and numerous related disciplines. Such a program might liberate certain adolescents to move into the maturational stage called the "artistic revival,"[23] when some of the spontaneity of early childhood is recaptured and linked to greater technical awareness. Because educators cannot know which young person will move on into authentic artistic activity, the richest and most varied opportunities must be offered to all who choose to heed.

There are those, of course, who say that none of this will seem relevant to young people who feel coerced by school and whose major interest is in popular culture of the popular arts. Whether this is the case or not, no one concerned with the arts in the public high school today can afford to overlook the experiences young people seek and find with rock music, films, novels like Stranger in a Strange Land, A Clockwork Orange, One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest, The Bell Jar, Slaughterhouse Five: The Children's Crusade. It is conventional wisdom to speak of adolescents' loss of spontaneity and expressiveness, and some people attribute this loss to neglect of the arts in the schools. Those who talk this way, however, simply deny or evade the Woodstock Festival, concerts given by the Rolling Stones or the Jefferson Airplane, the lines in front of movie houses showing 2001: A Space Odyssey, A Clockwork Orange, Performance, Easy Rider, Five Easy Pieces, El Topo, and countless others. They ignore what young people call the "freak-out," "grooving," "digging," "turning on," as if these had nothing at all to do with creativity or self-transcendence or even art. The Panel does not propose that the schools should absorb the popular arts, nor obliterate all distinctions between what is "fine" and what is "popular." However, if the intention is to move young people to choose significant aesthetic experiences within the school, teachers need to understand where

many students begin, where (as many would put it) they actually "live." Film critic Pauline Kael has noted that most people become interested in movies "because we enjoy them, and what we enjoy them for has little to do with what we think of as art."

The challenge facing the high school is to find a way of engaging students with the arts in response to their deeply felt questions, their concerns. Clues to these questions and concerns can be found by taking popular culture seriously and listening to the young. There are films like Easy Rider (ending with that hopeless "we blew it . . ."), Dr. Strangelove (ending in holocaust), Blow-Up (with illusion and reality utterly confused), Bonnie and Clyde (with its folk art quality and glorified violence), Performance, The Godfather, Frenzy, Five Easy Pieces, Alice's Restaurant, each of which offers a screen through which to decipher aspects of the adolescent world. There are television programs galore, including talk shows and the news. There is rock poetry and the poetry of Rod McKuen, Leonard Cohen, Dory Previn, many more.

But there is more to it than that. Kaplan points out that "popular art is not the degradation of taste but its immaturity, not the product of external social forces but produced by a dynamic intrinsic to the aesthetic experience itself."[24]

It does not follow that the high school curriculum ought to be popularized. It does not follow that "relevance" ought to be legislated into being through a concentration on Ken Kesey, Kurt Vonnegut, Jr., Stanley Kubrick, Dennis Hopper, the Rolling Stones, and Peter Max. (Anyone who has seen Frederick Wiseman's film, High School, will recall the painful scene in which the young English teacher sought to "teach" her students the lyrics of Simon and Garfunkel songs.)

Many students will say that they do not need knowledge of the masterworks, any more than they need excursions into a past which, for them, is dead. It is difficult to convince them that their rebellions against the technological, their talk of "sincerity" and "spontaneity," their dread of what William Blake called "mind-forg'd manacles," their celebration of the instinctual life all belong to and take on meaning in the context of a tradition which goes back at least as far as Blake and includes writers as various as Hawthorne, Baudelaire, Melville, Dostoevsky, Rimbaud, Nietzche, Gide, Hesse, Joyce, and Mann. It includes painters, too, as diverse as Delacroix, Monet, Van Gogh, Cezanne, Goya, Nolde, Kandinsky, Klee--all those who effected the revolutions in perception and expression that made it possible for us to see as we see, to form as we form today.

This being the case, the teacher who is prepared to respond to students' questions can promote not only consciousness of form and pattern,

but a sense of responsibility for the ways in which the environment itself is designed. This is in part what MacShane means when he speaks of students refusing "hideousness" in the world around, "vacuity" in public entertainment, "the inhuman drift of the electronic age." It is in part what critics of the media mean when they talk of the importance of understanding what is happening in experience as individuals confront the images on their television screens.

> Never before has the human eye been so assaulted by images printed, painted, photographed, stencilled, and otherwise copied, both moving and still. Because of the immense power and spread of advertising and mass media communications through publications and television . . . we have taken for granted a whole new set of signs, symbols, emblems and imagery, which has settled into our subconscious as a commonly shared visual experience. Such immediately recognizable objects and images, mass produced to a numbing degree, have become part of a mid-20th century urban 'folk' art, made not by the many but by the anonymous few; not by the naive and untrained but by the supra-sophisticated; not for enlightenment and pleasure but for materialistic and commercial ends.[25]

These images, these artifacts compose a new kind of visual communication, indeed a new language that is understood by now throughout the world. It is susceptible to critical examination in classrooms properly focused on the nature of perception and the variety of forms. If adolescents are permitted to penetrate their own perceptual reality and at once to understand their social reality through the disclosures made possible by the arts, they may become the kinds of adults who are equipped to choose among diverse fulfillments. They may become the kinds of adults competent enough to engage in dialog with those who send them constant messages through the media--the kinds of adults who have developed critical perception and authentic taste.

This is another argument for making the arts central in high school education; it is another approach to "humanizing" the schools. "The hope is," said Nancy Hanks, describing the Artists-in-the-Schools program sponsored by the National Endowment for the Arts and the Office of Education, "that the artist will open insights into the basic concepts of education and establish criteria for some fundamental and very much needed changes in curriculums. The idea is that art, by itself, is as important within the totality of education as mathematics, science, history and geography. Moreover, the idea is that, properly engaged in, art experienced this way becomes a way of seeing, feeling, and thinking that can serve as a gateway to other disciplines of thought and knowledge."[26]

Teachers must discover a capacity to become--and enable their students to become--people who see things afresh and respond to things from their authentic depths. They must discover a capacity like that of Ralph Ellison's narrator in The Invisible Man, when he is contemplating emergence from his underground room: "In going underground, I whipped it all except the mind, the mind. And the mind that has conceived a plan of living must never lose sight of the chaos against which that pattern was conceived." The teachers' concern must be explicitly with patterns and with plans of living. The teachers' concern must be with emergence, too, the emergence that comes with authenticity and the recovery of the self.

In Wallace Stevens' poem, The Idea of Order at Key West, the speaker tells of how his woman companion imposes a human intelligibility on the world by speaking and by singing. And the speaker says:

> Oh! blessed rage for order, pale Ramon,
> The maker's rage to order words of the sea,
> Words of the fragrant portals, dimly-starred
> And of ourselves and of our origins,
> In ghostlier demarcations, keener sounds.

He is talking of naming and of exploring origins; he is talking of bringing significance to life. It is the "rage" of praxis and self-consciousness that the arts can arouse in high school students. The object is to enable them to become the authors of their own lives.

* * *

The Panel recommends the following new patterns for organizing education in the arts in local communities.

1. Establish at the local level community councils for the arts with representatives of the schools, the museums, the associations of artists in various fields, the amateurs, the university professors, the critics, the writers, the poets, and the theatrical, TV, and motion picture people.

These organizations, established on a permanent basis, would parallel the National Foundation for the Arts and the National Foundation for the Humanities and State agencies of similar titles and functions.

The councils for the arts would be more than budgeting management groups. The elevation of the arts to a central position in the community through fairs, competitions, and city-hall-centered events to give honoring attention to the artists and all those who add beauty to community life is a first obligation of such councils.

2. Open all programs to adolescent participation with all other qualified adults.

3. Offer school resources in plant and personnel in a planned involvement with the broader community-based effort opening such programs to all qualified adults in addition to the normal enrollment of high school youth.

4. Inaugurate community schools in the various arts.

Photography, graphics, sculpture, macramé, weaving, painting, dance, and drama are but a few of the possibilities with broad appeal. The present facilities of the schools and other agencies could be broadly reviewed to avoid costly duplications and underutilization.

5. Encourage school systems to negotiate special educational contracts with artists and arts organizations.

In its Urban Arts Program Minneapolis has contracted for ballet, contemporary dance, modern dance, museum arts and architecture design, film, sculpture workshops, composition of folk rock, orchestra and opera, with the Walker Art Center, Metropolitan Art Dealers Association, Minnesota Orchestra, Minneapolis College of Art and Design, Minneapolis Dance Theater and School, and the Minneapolis Institute of Arts.

6. Establish community repertory theatres involving youth on a nonsegregated basis using the idle auditoriums of the schools to bring drama to the education of many.

Most amateur theatre groups across the country expend must of their energies raising the money needed to support the local improvised "barn theatre" when the schools everywhere have theatres (auditoriums) generally used less than 40 hours a year.

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Chapter 9

AIDING THE ADOLESCENT IN COPING WITH THE MASS MEDIA

Today's youth learn a great deal from the mass media, and educational institutions can play a crucial role in helping adolescents cope with what they learn in this manner. The Panel was charged with a concern for high schools and adolescent education, a charge which implies cognizance of the fact that some education takes place outside of the physical structures we call schools. While some observers might argue that more learning takes place through the mass media than in schools, an important question remains as to how much of this learning is really "educative." One can learn a great deal which is imbalanced, misleading, and even incorrect, as well as much which is important and insightful. What is the mix of educative and noneducative learning from mass media? And what is the task of schooling in a media-situated world? The fact that young people learn so much from the media means that today's adolescent exists in an educational environment fundamentally different from that of all but his most immediate predecessors.

The term "mass media" signifies communication, a fundamental human process which is coextensive with culture itself. "Medium" means "channel," the particular manner in which a message (communication) is conveyed from (human) source to (human) receiver. The feature which distinguishes modern mass media from older media is the way that they have fundamentally altered how human communication takes place.

This great change came about simply as a result of man's ability to insert a machine into the communication process. Consequently communication is no longer a largely face-to-face human interaction. Since the invention of the first printing press the relative proportion of non-face-to-face communication has increased tremendously. The consequences of this development are what is meant by the phrase the "impact of the mass media," what people point to when speaking of contemporary adolescents growing up in a "media environment," and what Marshall McLuhan highlighted in his famous aphorism, "the medium is the message."[1] The channels of communication--their forms and properties--have changed the communication process significantly.

How can this impact be measured? Dallas Smythe asserts that the mass media occupy more of men's and women's nonsleeping, nonworking time than any other activity in the United States.[2] Wilbur Schramm, in a summary of the impact of television on children for UNESCO, estimated that the average person watches 10,000 hours of television by age 24, and that the medium of television dominates the leisure activity of younger children, with only a slight decline for older children.[3]

Consider: 94 percent of the homes in the United States now have television sets; the average adolescent has spent more time watching television than he has spent in school.[4] Ninety-nine percent of homes have radios, and the ubiquitous transistor radio continues to be an essential element of the social environment of many adolescent peer groups. Records and tapes, in addition to providing entertainment, are essential media of "youth culture"; the sounds, images, and lyrics of "popular" music (which now means "youth" music) may have more impact on adolescents than television.

Movies have continued to attract an audience of young people, even though their popularity with other sectors of the population has declined. Informal surveys in major cities like Chicago indicate that more than 50 percent of the downtown theater audience is composed of young people. Books, magazines, and newspapers, while older media than the electronic variety, operate on other dimensions. Books provide a frequent means of cultural identity: the works of Kahlil Gibran, John Lennon, and J. R. R. Tolkien are symbols of both the commonalities of youth experience and the distinctiveness of such experience from that of adults. Interest of adolescents in youth control of media has been growing; offset printing and the mimeograph machine allow adolescents to produce their own vehicles of communication and avoid the high costs of the electronic media.[5]

One often hears the complaint that contemporary citizens of the United States are "saturated with media." Wilbur Schramm comments on:

> . . . the great power given to the mass media to report to us on our environment. Indeed, much of what we know about everything except our most immediate surroundings comes to us through the mass media, and therefore it is important to know both how the media handle this responsibility and how audiences handle the information delivered to them.[6]

In other words, the great possibility of the mass media is to extend our senses, to understand what is happening, to provide us with a better framework through which to make sense of our experience, whether that experience is first-hand or vicarious.[7] The extent to which a media experience does this is the measure of its educative value. The mass media both provide information and are experiences in their own right. What is their impact?

The study of the impact of mass media has an interesting history. Based on the observed effect of wartime propaganda, mass media developed an image of almost supreme power to affect how people think and what they think. This is the "silver bullet" theory of media--that any idea transmitted by mass media was magically empowered to influence, like a silver bullet. This image has been most important in the study of the effects of "violence" conveyed through the media.

For example, the assumption of TV violence as a major cause of social violence has been questioned strongly by a recent report to the Surgeon General of the U.S. Public Health Service entitled Television and Growing Up: The Impact of Televised Violence. The report concludes:

> The evidence (or more accurately, the difficulty of finding evidence) suggests that the effect (of televised violence) is small compared with many other possible causes, such as parental attitudes or knowledge, or experience with the real violence of our society.[8]

The search for a direct one-to-one correlation between TV violence and social violence, besides being a dead end in itself, has had several negative effects on the study of mass media impact. First, it has perpetuated the illusion that the content of media can be studied independently of the process, or that the content is independent of the process. Study of the content of media--information--is essential but it must be carried on in a manner that takes into account the situation in which media messages are produced, the context of the receiver situation, and a host of other variables. The second effect has been equally detrimental: the preoccupation with violence has inhibited study of the subtle but more pervasive effects of media. Finally, the violence question has resulted in a concentration on the effects of television and reduced interest in other media.

Any assessment of the effect of mass media in modern U.S. society must consider the ways in which media shape the formation of people's needs and preferences. The primary medium for this is advertising. The very development of mass media in this country is contemporaneous with the development of advertising, a $23 billion a year industry, according to a recent CBS News Special.[9] Adding the amount spent on the media themselves, plus that spent yearly on media equipment (TV sets, etc.) one might find that U.S. spending on advertising approaches all education costs (over $70 billion per year).

One would hardly expect such a massive outlay of social wealth if it had no effect. The economist John K. Galbraith asserts in his New Industrial State that the industrial system in the United States is so profoundly dependent on commercial television and other media that the system could not exist without them.[10] Some economists argue that the huge corporations of today could not survive without the ability to predict and shape markets which comes through advertising. All explanations of the huge advertising industry (which includes over $1 billion in advertising and marketing research) presume its effectiveness.

Yet when one searches for descriptions of the effects of advertisements or for studies of their functions, it is difficult to find meaningful data. Most of the research in advertising is paid for and directed by the

industries which are themselves the biggest advertisers. There is little of what Paul Lazarsfeld calls "critical" research: that is, research which is not bound "within the frame of reference laid down by the mass media themselves or by the support structure of advertisers, agencies, and government."[11]

Although the data which one would like to have are not generally available, some probing generalizations can be drawn about the functions and effects of the 25,000 advertisements per year to which a child is exposed.[12] Media expert Edmund Carpenter suggests that advertising's main function is to increase pleasure in the consumption of goods. This role is central to the industrial process which Galbraith described. Indeed, it is likely that advertisements are as effective in the formation of general needs as in the formation of preferences for specific products.

Fred W. Friendly, one-time news director for CBS television, feels that there is an even more direct connection between news content and advertising; for example,

> The yield from the detergent, deodorant, bleach, or food advertisers who possess the daytime schedule (whose annual expenditures . . . totals /sic/ some $130,000,000) is the principal reason why no serious programing can be sustained for any length of time during those hours.[13]

Friendly's book Due to Circumstances Beyond Our Control frequently deals with the manner in which advertising priorities affect the news reporting of a major network. It is no mystery why one media critic has concluded, "programing is simply intended as a vehicle for organizing an audience to sell things to."[14]

Although a great deal is spent determining what will make people buy things, little money is spent determining how advertising affects people's broader consciousness of the world around them. In the CBS News Special mentioned above psychologist Erich Fromm commented upon the states of mind which are encouraged in viewers by television advertising:

1. A sense of fearfulness,

2. A tendency to believe in miracles, rather than human effort; gadgets will create the good life,

3. A condition of doubtfulness about the value of rationality and independent thinking because of the massive amount of information and conflicting claims which one individual cannot cope with alone,

4. A sense of the fantasy-like character of existence, with consequent dislike and disdain for those who would impose the real world upon the fantasy world.[15]

Fromm's comments may be extreme but they point in the direction of great influence. This is not connecting mass media with violence, but with the lives, needs, and priorities of both individuals and the entire social order.

Television and other mass media have an effect in other areas as well. One of these is the formation of people's concepts of their own group and of other people. The (HEW) Special Task Force on Work, for example, comments on how the media shape people's ideas about what it's like to be a worker:

> Today, there is virtually no accurate dramatic representation--as there was in the 1930's--of men and women in working-class occupations. Instead, we have recently had the movie Joe and the television series about Archie Bunker (All in the Family). These stereotypes--ignoring the heterogeneity of blue-collar workers--do little to enhance the dignity of the worker on his job. For example, what does Archie do on the job? Is he ashamed of his job? Is that why he won't talk about it at home? Certainly, if he worked in an office we would see scenes of him at work. The negative view of all blue-collar work in the show is reinforced by the fact that Archie's "socially enlightened" son-in-law is a future professional.
>
> Research shows that less than one character in ten on television is a blue-collar worker, and these few are usually portrayed as crude people with undesirable social traits. Furthermore, portrayals tend to emphasize class stereotypes: Lawyers are clever while construction workers are louts. But it is not only the self-image of the workers that is being affected; television is conveying to children superficial and misleading information about work in society. If children do, indeed, learn from television, they will "learn" that professionals lead lives of carefree leisure, interspersed with drama and excitement (never hard work) and that blue-collar workers are racist clods who use bad grammar and produce little of use for society.[16]

Comments similar to those of the Task Force have been made about the influence of media on the social perceptions of women. An article in TV Guide includes the comment, "No force has demeaned women more than advertising."[17] Analyst Roxanne Dunbar describes the effect of Hollywood movies on the self-image of rural working-class southern women:

> Then it was in the early 50s that movies invaded the culture (of the area), introducing new (urban) patterns. The country folk were mystified by the city people portrayed, and they were humiliated in their ignorance and roughness. The women were embarrassed by the white, soft ladies in low-cut gowns with their jewels and high-heeled shoes up against those country women with their leathered brown skin and muscles, and their drab clothes and heavy shoes. The men felt 'more manly' toward the soft-voiced, tender ladies on the screen than toward their own unsightly women.
>
> The image of the male which Hollywood created was not so very different from the country man. The female image was totally different. The farmers' taste and desire were supposed to change, and his self-image thereby. But the country women were to change completely--physically and psychically. And it didn't work. The sight of country women in rhinestones and platform heels and brief dresses over their muscular bodies was a pitiful one indeed. The men left them (in fantasy) for Hollywood.[18]

The effects of advertising and programing are complex, but their complexity must not be taken as a reason to ignore their consequences. An area of the most pervasive effects is one which we might call the formation of "sense of reality," which includes a "sense of self." Again, television is the star, in a process which we might call "the packaging of experience." Just as the primary function of the advertisement is to heighten the enjoyment of the product, so one might say that the role of television as a whole is to heighten the pleasure of experience by packaging it for each consumption. The media are not only responsible for a major part of one's image of the outside world; this image is projected in a manner which attempts to make consumption of this experience easier. One obvious consequence is the simplification of complex events. Several TV commentators, for example, have called attention to the manner in which TV has made contemporary politics in the United States much more dependent upon personality than in previous eras (see Theodore White's Making of the President series,[19] or Daniel Boorstin, From News-Gathering to Newsmaking: A Flood of Pseudo-Events[20]). This is just one way in which a particularly crucial aspect of "reality" has been altered in the confrontations with mass media.

But the effects enter other areas as well. Lang and Lang, in a pioneering paper on the effects of television, comment:

> It has been claimed for television that it brings the truth directly into the home: The 'camera does not lie.' Analysis of the above data shows that this assumed reportorial accuracy is

> far from automatic. Every camera selects, and thereby leaves the unseen part of the subject open to suggestion and inference. The gaps are usually filled in by a commentator. In addition, the process directs actions and attention to itself.[21]

Schramm in his study for UNESCO comments on the effect of TV on children:

> Studies of TV content of course vary in their results from country to country, but many of them point out that television brings a child face to face with adult problems long before he ordinarily would meet them, and in some countries at least, tends to give him a view of adult life that is distorted in terms of social class, desirable occupations, and violent ways of solving problems.[22]

It is not stretching a point too far to comment that a problem emerges which is similar to the problem of what constitutes a need: What is reality? The mass media have such power to shape the perception of reality of the receiver that one wonders whether the reality of the media begins to replace the reality of the outside world.

At this point the comments of Erich Fromm quoted earlier become most relevant. If it is true that mass media are capable of greatly influencing people's sense of reality, what are some of the directions that this influence might take? Fromm suggests the possibility of systematic distortion in the direction of undermining the individual's sense of the power of reason and rationality, converting all experience to fantasy.

Another direction is suggested by a cursory review of the content of recent television situation comedies. The plots of several of these shows seem to fall consistently into a pattern which emphasizes the ubiquity of strife, misunderstanding, and personal frustration. While perhaps one cannot argue with the verisimilitude of such situations, it is the manner of resolution of the plot which seems to carry the most opportunity for distortion: plots are consistently resolved through some caprice, happenstance, or serendipity--almost never through the concentrated attempts of the human beings involved to work out their own problems. There is a striking connection between this structure and the comment made by Fromm that advertising encourages the feeling that solutions to problems can be found only through miracles. Both structures tend to reinforce passivity, individualism, and despair, and systematically affect viewers' perceptions of themselves and their world in this direction.

The possibility of this distortion of reality is increased by some characteristics structurally inherent to mass media: absence of feedback, the concept of "news," and the limitations of "objectivity," which lead to difficulties which the media alone cannot hope to solve.

The absence of feedback is a price it seemed one had to pay in order to receive the benefits of mass communication. Postman and Weingartner outline the problem in the following manner:

> There has been . . . a decrease in available and viable 'democratic' channels of communication because the mass media are entirely one-way communication . . . The communication is virtually all one way; from the top down, via the mass media, especially TV . . . The effect of this process on all of us is to leave no alternative but to accept policy, act on orders from above, and implement the policy without question or dialog . . .[23]

In two-person communication, the receiver has the opportunity to respond immediately to the communicator. Even the medieval troubadour had the benefit of immediate reaction to his performance. In both situations communicators are dependent upon their audience in a direct way. The TV news commentator, in contrast, is functionally independent of his audience. Carey points out that this has either one of two consequences. Either the newsman develops a contempt for both the sources of his information and his audience, or there is an internalization of the sources' value and an identification with the source. The newsman is, after all, dependent upon the source for the information which is his stock-in-trade. The passivity of the viewer is total, and feedback to the commentator is virtually eliminated.[24]

A second structural difficulty, particularly for the broadcast media, is the problem of what constitutes news. The comments of Edward R. Murrow explore this problem:

> One of the basic troubles with radio and television news is that both instruments have grown up as an incompatible combination of show business, advertising, and news. Each of the three is a rather bizarre and demanding profession. And when you get all three under one roof, the dust never settles. The top management of the networks, with a few notable exceptions, has been trained in advertising, research, sales, or show business. But, by the nature of the corporate structure, they also make the final and crucial decisions having to do with news and public affairs.[25]

This is the context within which news, the primary source of information about the "outside" world, is formed.

The third difficult area concerns that professional commentators call "objectivity." It is discussed by Carey in the following manner:

> What are lamely called the conventions of objective reporting were developed to report another century and another society. They were designed to report a secure world of politics, culture, social relations, and international alignments about which there was a rather broad consensus concerning values, purposes, and loyalties. The conventions of reporting reflected and enhanced a settled mode of life and fleshed out with incidental information an intelligible social structure.
>
> Today no accepted system of interpretation exists and political values and purposes are very much in contention. Politics, culture, classes, generations, and international alignments are not part of an intelligible mode of life, are not directed by shared values, and cannot be encased within traditional forms of understanding. Consequently, 'objective reporting' does little more than convey this disorder in isolated, fragmented news stories. Even worse, the canons of objective reporting filter historically new phenomena through an outmoded linguistic machinery which grossly distorts the nature of these events . . . The conventions . . . not only report (an event), they endow it, pari passu, with an order and logic--an order and logic which simply masks the underlying realities. Audiences, as a result, read about an experience (the event), indeed, are obsessed by it, but are unable to personally understand it nor are they able to see it as an event in their common national life.[26]

Thus even the canons of objectivity, the historical claim to credibility of the news media, can no longer be accepted as guides sufficient in and to themselves.

The issues raised tentatively above should not be taken as perfectly formed and presented. This discussion is exploratory, intended to raise questions about the character of mass media and their role in society. What emerges from the discussion is that the media contribute to the obscuring of experience as much as they contribute to its integration. The power of the media in need and preference formation, their power in self-concept formation and group-concept formation, and the structural problems of lack of feedback, news formulation, and objectivity all point toward the incomplete nature of media experiences in the education of individuals.

The existence of these phenomena warrant a clear call for an educational environment which helps adolescents cope with them. Such an environment would help youth understand the sources of the issues, help provide a critical audience for the media which might begin to overcome the problems of one-way communication (particularly if aided by the real development of viewer-access cable TV), and eventually provide the professional communicators who may be able to resolve the issues.

The possibilities for media are as great as they ever were: the opportunity to provide instantaneous access of millions of people to crucial events; the opportunity to share information with a broad group of people so that intelligent, socially represented decisions can be made; the opportunity to expose people to enough different perspectives and analyses so that the true complexity of issues can be grasped. It is not utopian to imagine the kind of national concentration which occurs during the funeral procession of a murdered dignitary also taking place at a time of acute national crisis as well. The step beyond that, such concentration being transformed into collective solutions to crisis, is not as large as it might seem. What is needed is instruction in how the media do what they do. This should be carried out in a manner which objectifies and examines the properties of a social order so dependent upon mass communication.

Adolescents themselves have demonstrated the power of music, carried through media, to begin the process of exposing aspects of social situations to public scrutiny and developing alternative value patterns. The songs of Bob Dylan, for example, had major impact in the areas of both style and content. "The times, they are a-changin'" articulated positively the feelings of rebellion of a whole generation; "The masters of war" directed a critical gaze at a social phenomenon which set the context of the lives of adolescents in the postwar period. Dylan's songs, in a sense, charted the way for repair of the split between art (music) and social awareness (activity). It is significant that through the medium of long-playing records and later radio, this process was transformed from an isolated event in folk-singing clubs to one which affected the lives of millions of youth.

Given the breadth of these issues and the wide scope of media impact, instruction in "how the media do what they do" is a major challenge for formal educational institutions; an educational environment adequate to meet the challenge of the mass media would be something quite unique for formal education. What the Panel is calling for is a program of education which helps the student understand a pervasive yet subtle social phenomenon, while at the same time understanding his own relation to that phenomenon. The Panel is looking for education which enables the student to understand, for example, how a record or TV program or article affects him personally; what the message is appealing to and how it is shaping his sense of what is real and unreal, what is proper and what is improper. Ultimately, such instruction must be carried out in a manner which objectifies and examines the properties of a social order so dependent upon mass communication. The Panel is deeply persuaded that education in media literacy is as fundamental to the process of education in school as book literacy has become since the invention of the textbook.

The relationship between the present system of adolescent education and the need for media literacy deserves brief examination. Todd Gitlin has described the mass media and the educational system as the two great means

of communication in our contemporary society.[27] When approached from this point of view, a great deal of similarity between these two processes can be observed. Both means of communication have suffered from attempts to analyze their content independent of the process which produces the content. Attempts to change schools, for example, have often focused exclusively on the content (curriculum) and not on the structure of the institution or its internal mechanisms which so fundamentally shape the content of what is called "education."

There are three general types of response to the developing impact of mass communication which can be identified among the formal purposive institutions of education. The first is simply to ignore it; the school goes about its historically defined functions without reference to the major ways in which its students are interacting with the mass media. Such nonresponse is an evasion of the educational responsibilities outlined in this chapter and it is one of the principal contributors to the feeling of many adolescents that school is irrelevant to their lives. Examples of such nonresponse include the English course which discusses Elizabethan drama while ignoring the contemporary stage and movie; music classes which widen rather than narrow the difference between response to Beethoven and to the Rolling Stones; art courses which ignore creative art as an example of communication. The nonresponse to the challenge of the media is on the wane; instruction programs in the media are developing rapidly as a part of the innovative actions of many school districts.

The second general type of reaction to the impact of the mass media is the "cart before the horse" response. In one variant, the school attempts to capitalize upon the capacity of mass media techniques to maintain interest and convey information while ignoring the effects of the media themselves. This is the danger of the "pure" educational technology approach--the assumption that one has responded to the impact of mass media by putting the same high school history course on television. But factual history dramatized, physics taught as the story of scientists making discoveries, the mental processes of analysis and synthesis, inductive and deductive reasoning that led to each new insight--these are examples of high drama in the history of the intellectual development of man. This is a response to the need for media literacy that the Federal Government should subsidize in a fashion similar to its support of the Children's TV Workshop.

Another response is the program which provides instruction in the techniques of mass media (how to run a movie camera, how to write a newspaper story) while ignoring the content and effects of the mass media process. While instruction in techniques is essential to good media education, analysis of the consequences of the media as they presently exist and exploration of ways in which the content and process of the media might be improved are equally important.

One rarely finds a media program which demonstrates a fourth approach, one which combines instruction in the techniques of media with analysis of the social role of media and its possibilities. Yet this is what is necessary if the educational environment is going to provide experience which prepares adolescents for the media world into which they will move and helps them cope with the media environment in which they already exist.

In the light of the need for media literacy and in concert with the other recommendations which make up this report, the Panel suggests the following steps as part of a program to create an adequate media educational environment. As with other recommendations any one is not sufficient to meet the need, nor are all compatible or even desirable in all circumstances. Taken as a whole, however, the Panel feels they point a constructive direction in this crucial area.

1. The Panel recommends a program of "critical research," as Lazarsfeld described it,[28] into the social and cultural roles and educational effects of the mass media.

Such research should be undertaken independently of the existing mass communications and advertising industry.

2. Purposive institutions of adolescent education might explore the possibility of extensive study and work with local mass communications media.

These experiences could be varied, including periods of employment as copy boys, "cub" reporters, or technician apprentices, as well as seminars with local editors, etc. Other opportunities might be found with local radio and television stations, including assistantships with program directors, disc jockeys, and advertising salesmen. The emphasis here would be on learning by doing, studying the media in operation. Schools could move quickly to make such options meaningful alternatives to the present classroom system.

3. Classes in the analysis of the content and process of media need to become an integral part of the school curriculum, either as special "mini" courses, or as elements of standard curriculums (e.g., a section on "the history of the mass media," "the possibilities and limits of television drama," a current affairs class on "how the media dealt with Watergate").

Techniques and skills for such content analysis do exist; the point is to give them more central support and importance. Parenthetically, study of the media provides one of the best ways to introduce students to the techniques of social science research. Example: What are the "core values" implicit in the plot of such-and-such a television show? In the

records of a popular singer and song-writer? In the work of a widely read columnist? The point of such exercises and instruction would be to help the adolescent become an intelligent consumer of media experience. Course work would benefit from the potentially close relationship between the subject matter and the outside experience of the student.*

4. Adolescents should be encouraged and assisted in the creation of their own media, including everything from newspapers and literary magazines to operating an independent FM station.

Many colleges and universities run their own stations; high schools could as well. The opportunities for educational radio have not been exhausted; educational television has never been allowed to prove its worth as a viable alternative to commercial broadcasting. Adolescents for whom such experiences were an integral part of their education could be a great help to such institutions.

5. The potential of viewer-access cable TV should be explored for its educational uses.

The initial reports on the success of viewer-access cable TV are less than encouraging. In these systems a cable TV franchise is required to reserve channel space and provide equipment for viewer-initiated and produced programing. Where opportunity for such activity exists, the response has been minimal.[29] One franchise reports that the opportunity for such programing was taken advantage of only once in an entire year of operation.

"Viewer access" represents a possible break in the nonfeedback, one-way communication pattern of the mass media. It can only realize its potential, however, if a large number of people acquire the requisite skills and experience to produce television programs. Schools can provide a major service to the society by providing such training and encouraging students to take advantage of it. National Science Foundation efforts in this direction are to be commended.

6. Another form of media instruction which has not been developed properly and should be explored more thoroughly is instruction in the possibilities of media.

For example, the "instant replay" capability of videotape could prove to be a tremendous asset to the study of small group dynamics,

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*Some educators have suggested that techniques similar to those outlined may be enhanced by the theories and perspectives of Brazilian educator Paulo Freire. See particularly his Pedagogy of the Oppressed.

enabling group members to go back and explore the origins of group misunderstandings and tensions. The series of television programs following the lives of a real family in the United States (The Louds) may prove to be of incalculable value to the student of United States culture, just as other documentaries have helped many students and teachers to understand the reality of their own situations.

7. Formal educational institutions must find means of validating learning which takes place outside school and through mass media.

The development of "performance criteria" which credit a student for his ability to perform tasks, rather than the present system of Carnegie units, is a step in the right direction. Further steps could be taken which would have the effect of encouraging students to view media as an opportunity for education as well as for entertainment.

8. The Panel agrees strongly with the concept put forth by Virginia Knauer, special adviser to the President on consumer affairs, who recently issued a call for programs in the schools to help people become more effective consumers.[30]

All too often consumers are unaware of product alternatives or complications, and the schools and other educational institutions could make a major contribution to alleviating the domination by advertisers of product information through effective consumer education programs. Experience with this kind of instruction (through nonprint media) is limited, a fact which suggests that there is a real role for Federal initiative in their development. Increased sophistication as consumers--whether of products or of "experience"--will be a necessary skill for future citizens. The Panel endorses student-operated consumer demonstration programs on local TV or radio designed to translate consumer reports to the public as an example of student learning through public service.

9. Finally, the Panel recommends the development of technological alternatives to present educational techniques which take advantage of the opportunities provided by alternate media while avoiding their disadvantages.

The series Sesame Street is a good example of educational technology which chooses material appropriate both to the medium and to the audience. The results have been extraordinary.[31] Such products are expensive; the number of technical experts necessary for quality productions is greater than one would think. For example, a University of Nebraska team for production of a televised psychology series included the following technical staff: content specialists, instructional design specialists, evaluation personnel, production specialists, specialists in teaching, writers, audio specialists, professional talent directors and producers, set designers, cinematographers, still photographers, art and graphics experts, coordination and liaison personnel, as well as a series of support personnel.[32]

Nonetheless, the final product is well worth the effort, and per pupil costs can eventually be reduced to less than $2.00 per year. The kind of education in the reality of the media suggested here is essential to the production of such materials; knowing what one can't do is as important as knowing what one can.

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Chapter 10

PREPARATION OF YOUTH FOR THE EXPERIENCE OF WORK

Adolescent education should attempt to prepare youth for and expose them to the experience of work.

Work is a pervasive and highly-respected fact of life in the United States. In addressing themselves to the role of educational institutions in preparing adolescents for work participation, the Panel members discussed the values of work to people of all ages, the experience--and lack thereof--of teenagers in the labor market, and the current role of the schools and other institutions in the areas of youth employment and careers.

In the United States, work historically has been both a central value and a basic institution. From a blend of religious, political, and economic theories and beliefs has come a widespread conviction that work and such related characteristics as thrift, diligence, and deferring gratification,[1] are qualities to be prized, often valued in and of themselves. In addition, the monetary rewards of work are vital to the functioning of contemporary American society. Necessary for participation in our consumption-oriented culture, money is a highly desirable reward and powerful source of motivation. Earning money is seen as an indication of independence and maturity, and deserving of respect. Success, both material and personal, is often measured by the size of one's income.

Within this historical and social context, the efforts of secondary schools to prepare youth for the world of work present a mixed picture. Among graduates of high school vocational programs unemployment rates seem to be lower and wages higher than among non-college-bound youth who complete high school without vocational training.[2] Vocational high school graduates also appear to have more occupational adaptability than academic graduates since they are more likely to migrate out of depressed areas.[3] However, the advantages of vocational education graduates may be due more to their credentials, basic education, and "creaming" processes than to the acquisition of any specific technical skill.[4] Vocational graduates do better than general curriculum students in tight labor markets and during periods of low unemployment, but not under high unemployment conditions.[5] The wage differentials between vocational and general curriculum graduates also reflect the fact that the latter are likely to be disadvantaged youth, screened out of college, vocational high schools, and good jobs.[6] Vocational high schools in New York City report better attendance

than academic high schools (80 percent v. 75 percent) and less disorderly behavior,[7] but several studies suggest that dropout rates among high school vocational enrollees are higher than those of academic and general curriculum students.[8]

A number of factors seem to have combined to produce the high rate of vocational school dropouts. The schools have not been closely geared to the changing U.S. economy and substantial lags have existed between labor market changes and curriculum changes, largely because of the insulation of these programs from employers, the community, and the economy. Programs, typically, have operated with inadequate or no labor market data or projections.[9]

Reform in vocational education has been relatively slow moving and unimpressive. Despite the innovations of the Vocational Education Acts of 1963 and 1968, Federal leadership for significant change has been limited. With the Federal Government providing only one-fifth of all vocational education funds, State and local educational bodies are often able to dilute or discredit unpopular federally established priorities.[10]

Largely, in response to the inadequacies of secondary school technical training, the U.S. Office of Education recently proposed the broader concept of "career education," officially defined as "the total effort of public education and the community aimed at helping all individuals to become familiar with the values of a work-oriented society, to integrate these values into their personal value systems, and to implement these values in their lives in such a way that work becomes possible, meaningful, and satisfying to each individual."[11] Information on career opportunities and labor market requirements would be provided in grades 1 through 12. All high school students, regardless of future employment or higher education plans, would engage in both academic and occupational learnings, whether in school or out. Thus, each student would be equipped with both basic academic competencies and at least entry-level job skills.[12]

The Panel members considered several questions in order to formulate their recommendations: (a) the usefulness of the high school diploma in obtaining jobs, (b) the limited performance of the secondary schools, employers, and employment services in placing youth in jobs, (c) the schools' lack of accommodation to the large percentage of students already working, and (d) the school as a workplace. After thorough exploration of these questions, the Panel recommends:

1. <u>Educational and other societal institutions should be urged to support actively the provision of work opportunities for all youth who want them, since work experience can offer interested adolescents a number of potential benefits</u>.

Work is not an unqualified good, of course, and the Panel advocates neither an emphasis on the work ethic in the development of young people nor the exploitation of child labor. However, the Panel recognizes that the entry-level jobs which teenagers usually occupy are frequently menial, routinized, of low prestige, and consequently lacking in some of the characteristics of an optimal learning environment.

In spite of this negative factor, research and observation reveal that working does have numerous advantages. Having a job can, among other things, alleviate a teenager's economic needs, promote his sense of independence and self-esteem, reduce adolescents' isolation from older people, and provide them with many and varied nonacademic learning experiences not available in school. More than other types of out-of-school learning (volunteer activities, action learning, political involvement, etc.), work can provide the sense of independence that comes from providing for one's own needs and a feeling of being in the mainstream of American society. Whether or not having a job will enhance a young person's later employability is as yet unclear. While employment or job seeking may develop a teenager's work discipline, job hunting skills, and labor market knowledge, these gains might also be acquired easily in seeking employment or on-the-job training after leaving school.

2. The Panel advocates the utilization of fiscal and monetary policies to reduce unemployment generally and for the young particularly. Such action could concentrate on maintaining and enlarging the demand for manpower and facilitating informed movement of persons within and between small labor markets.

The major forces behind adolescent unemployment and underemployment (the state of the economy, legal requirements, employer attitudes, etc.) are beyond the control of the school or alternative educational institutions. Hence, the Panel adds its voice to those calling for the attainment of a full employment economy, with adequate job opportunities for all. A buoyant economy is also essential if education for future careers is to be effective.

3. The many structural barriers (unemployment insurance and other payroll taxes, workmen's compensation payments, etc.) to the employment of youth should be removed.

As one step, the Panel endorses the call of the 1972 Manpower Report to the President for "wider dissemination of information and simplified guidelines with respect to child labor laws, in order to eliminate what appears to be employer confusion about them."[13] However, the existing impediments to youth employment should not be replaced by positive incentives to employers to hire adolescents which will put that age group at a competitive advantage over other job seekers.

Federal and State governments and labor groups should study and cooperate on various means of reducing discrimination against adolescent workers. Any strategy should include more concerted efforts to eliminate racial and sex discrimination in hiring, wage, and promotion practices.

The Panel also advocates the elimination of artificial hiring requirements to prevent irrelevant job qualification restrictions on high school students and dropouts and to supply labor market demands more realistically. The anticredentialism stand of the Supreme Court (Griggs v. Duke Power Company, 1971) should be extended in the form of specific legislation.

4. The Panel feels that youthful employment should not be left to happenstance and strongly recommends that a local job market information center be set up in each community or group of communities, preferably manned by a combination of adolescents and technically qualified adults.

Adolescents who do work almost invariably found their jobs without any institutional assistance. Neither schools, employers, the employment service, nor other institutions effectively aid in the transition from school to work, even for students. Youth themselves are providing the service informally, relying on such communication networks as friends, family, other significant adults, and "the grapevine." Although this system has its advantages (50 percent or more of teenage students work during the year),[14] it appears inadequate to meet the numerous forces working to limit adolescent employment. It is particularly ineffective in the inner city, where the grapevine has little job news to report.

Preliminary data[15] indicate that specific labor market information can provide a significant payoff in terms of income. A local job information agency would provide up-to-date information on openings, characteristics, and trends in the local job market in a systematic and understandable manner. The center might also undertake job guidance functions.

5. The Panel also recommends that attention be given to the creation of a job placement mechanism for youth.

This may or may not be part of a work placement mechanism for the general population. Several possible approaches to this function are worth investigating at either the Federal research or local experimental level. The three existing agencies (schools, employers, and the employment service) could work together more closely, cooperating and coordinating their activities. The local manpower office might start working in the school to make its services and job information more accessible to youth. Such an action would discriminate against out-of-school youth if other steps were not also taken. Employers could establish closer contact with the other two agencies and adopt more

realistic hiring practices.[16] The schools, working more directly with local employers, could develop a more militant placement service. The poor performance of individual schools and school districts in job counseling and placement should be made public as a means of stimulating them to improve resources in this area.[17]

Other approaches to job placement for youth include applying to the formal institutions the successful components of the informal system by which most adolescents presently find work. Additionally, the proposed local job market information center or other new institutions might be designed to undertake seriously youth job placement. What is not recommended is attempting to add responsibility for job information and job placement to the high school guidance department.

6. Regarding adolescent employment, the Panel insists that the focus should be shifted from individual employability to job availability.

Educators traditionally have concentrated on job training, attempting to equip students with special skills and increase their familiarity with job environments to enable them to compete more effectively for jobs. However, the youth unemployment figures of the last few years and various studies have made it clear that getting a job (especially for a career) is less a question of developing the necessary skills and learning to find work than it is a problem of jobs being available and accessible.

Existing data suggest that the prejob, specific skills training emphasis of most manpower and vocational education programs has had relatively little impact on job holding, advancement, and wages.[18]

This is not to condemn all prejob programs out of hand. Although plagued with poor implementation and management, they represent attempts to deal especially with problems of ethnic minorities and the poor. Their failure to show immediate gains in graduates' jobs and income does not mean they do not have other benefits. They may improve self-esteem, raise aspirations, develop skills for better coping with "the system," and even improve reading, mathematical, and verbal abilities. Any proposed corrective action should consider seriously the effect of these programs on the disadvantaged groups they serve.

7. The Panel is convinced that, with a few notable exceptions, the vocational shop courses in both comprehensive high schools and vocational education schools fail in their stated objectives.

Although business education appears successful, most of the inschool training courses are severely limited by their operational and structural characteristics and their isolation from the larger economy.

The problem of redesigning or relocating vocational training is complex. However, the Panel agrees with the HEW report on Work in America that "the most advantageous acquisition of specific skills occur either on the job or in postsecondary institutions such as community

colleges where there is a much closer relationship to true (manpower) demand than in high schools."[19]

One possibility for moving vocational and skill training out of the schools is for local boards of education to contract with appropriate local business and industrial concerns to provide such training. Another possibility is for the community colleges to assume most of the skills training (especially shop instruction) for their localities.

Community colleges have been growing rapidly in both number and enrollments since 1960--1,000 schools with 2 million students in 1970, as compared with 500 schools and one-third that enrollment 10 years earlier. These institutions often have close ties with employers, both public and private, and conduct many effective work-study and cooperative education programs. Despite a heavy emphasis on academic programs and on preparing students to transfer to 4-year colleges, they appear to be fast becoming one of the most productive manpower training institutions in the Nation. Cost-effectiveness studies[20] indicate that these schools are more efficient than other postsecondary vocational-technical agencies. They also do better than vocational high schools in terms of the occupations and earnings of their graduates, although account must be taken in interpreting these findings of the different student populations being served. Flexible entrance procedures would have to be worked out so that high school students, especially the disadvantaged, would not be denied access on the basis of age, credentials, or financial means. Another problem concerns Federal vocational education support, which is a major source of much needed Federal funding to secondary schools. The Panel recommends legislation which would reward reallocation of funds at the local level for tradeoff decisions emphasizing job information and job placement programs.

8. <u>The Panel strongly endorses work-study and cooperative education programs for adolescents and calls for their expansion</u>.

Students in these programs receive a high school diploma for a combination of school work and part-time employment. Such activities offer many of the advantages of authentic employment while integrating a youth's work and school experiences and providing support and guidance. The adolescents involved generally earn salaries, acquire some occupational skills, and establish some contacts in the work community useful in later job seeking. Cooperative education often helps to make academic studies more relevant and rewarding for students and to improve self-perceptions and expectations by enabling youth to see what they are capable of doing. These part-time jobs also decrease an adolescent's isolation from the older population and can give him insight into the nature of different occupations.[21] In sum, cooperative education "has been among the most successful of the high school vocational education programs in training students and in subsequently placing them in jobs."[22]

The 1968 Vocational Education Amendments and 1972 Higher Education Act authorized funds for cooperative education programs, and nearly 300,000 high school students were enrolled in 1970.[23] The Panel recommends that local, State and Federal assistance be increased to expand and to improve these programs. Such programs tend to be costly and time consuming for schools to operate, since they require the soliciting of cooperation from employers and the supervision and scheduling of each participant's activities. To be most successful, work-study programs have to provide jobs with some learning potential, although many employers are reluctant to participate and others often cannot afford (given the various structural barriers to youth employment) to provide a student with anything except a low-grade job.

To strengthen the effectiveness of cooperative education and work-study projects, increased emphasis should be placed on providing individualized programs for students. Also important is sufficient flexibility and options to allow participants to move back and forth between the classroom and the workplace without penalty (loss of credit or no credit). In addition, programs should attempt to instruct adolescents in "occupational citizenship"--organizational politics and behaviors of the work situation such as how a given business is governed, the role and workings of the union, and how to file individual grievances. Well-supervised on-the-job training should be made available to the younger students as well and should attempt to include more minority youth, who often are discriminated against in getting jobs.

9. Educational institutions for adolescents should be more cognizant of and responsive to the fact that many inschool youth do have jobs for some period of their high school years.

School time schedules could be more flexible (e.g., full-credit evening and summer classes), and open entry-exit procedures should be initiated. In addition, homework burdens might be lightened.

Secondary schools may or may not be the best institutions to help youth prepare for and find work, but they can sanction or certify the learning accrued in the workplace. The development of proficiency criteria, to replace Carnegie credit units, is one important step in this process.

10. In order to initiate and reinforce work programs, the Panel recommends that the Federal Government, through the various appropriate agencies, undertake research in the area of adolescents and the labor market.

Since the number of specific subjects on which data are needed is virtually endless, the Panel mentions only those which were found to be stumbling blocks during its deliberations: a) the implications of vocational education, both broadly and narrowly defined, need to be

clarified, especially the various manpower and vocational education training programs that have had some success; b) secondary-level jobs and their relation to other employment should be explored to determine their short- and long-term effects on the adolescents who occupy them; c) the immediate and later fates of the "no-no's" (those not in school and not in the labor market) should be studied, as should the relationship between school attendance and jobs; d) the possible effects on adolescent and general employment of increasing or decreasing the period of compulsory preparatory education; e) the impact of a teenager's employment on his inschool learning.

11. The secondary school should reassess its role in the preparation of youth for work to determine where and how it can contribute most effectively.

The Panel has concluded that early technical training is relatively ineffective, despite the successes of work-study programs and business education courses. There are other contributions education institutions can make in this area, however. Well-developed reading, mathematical, and communication skills, for instance, are always attractive to employers. "Employers find that young workers who have 'learned how to learn' can quickly master the specifics of most jobs."[24] Generalized inschool training in technical and problem-solving skills can be transferred to a broad range of occupations.

If educational institutions are to keep their function of counseling adolescents on future choices, occupational and career counseling must be given the type of serious attention now reserved for college admission. The former area has long been neglected, even though 80 percent of new full-time labor market entrants 16-24 years old have not been graduated from college.

Two other conditions should be approximated if educational institutions are to be relevant to adolescents' immediate and long-term employment needs. Since the school is itself a workplace for both students and faculty, it should attempt to maximize the satisfaction of those who work there. This would mean "removing the equivalent necessity of punching a timeclock, increasing the autonomy of the 'worker,' enlarging (individuals') tasks, and reducing rigidities . . . since it may be the case that a satisfying education would be the best precursor of satisfying work."[25] A second high priority goal for educational institutions should be to establish close and active links with employers, supervisors, and union officials; employers will need to undertake self-evaluation and restructure their operations to accommodate greater numbers of youth. These actions are important, not only for the success of individual work programs, but because work and education are too important in the lives of adolescents and their role in society to operate in isolation from one another.

12. The Panel recommends that each vocational training program in a high school or community college be operated under and with an advisory board of business, industry, and union representatives, as well as teachers and students.

The Panel opposes the current practice of expecting a body of this kind to oversee a whole program of several or many trades or skills. Such boards turn out on examination in the field to be largely decorative and ritual creations set up to satisfy Federal guidelines, meeting annually but with little programmatic effect. Therefore, the Panel recommends that a subgroup be established for each trade or skill. Each career council should be expected to provide employment projections for the region for 5 years if possible, or for the next 2 years at the minimum. In addition, a descriptive list of the job-entry skills needed for initial employment in each trade or career program should be written by the responsible career council. Job placement services should be established by each council; employment feedback by recent graduates should be provided for to maintain relevancy to the entering trainee. The schools should upon public notice abandon each program not so supported.

Without continuous review by the industry served, the union involved, the faculty, graduates, and current students, in a body with responsibilities spelled out in a charter of appointment, vocational training in the schools is likely to continue to be obsolescent in equipment and training and irrelevant to employment needs. With it, there is hope that the continued public investment can be justified.

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Chapter 11

THE CERTIFICATION OF LEARNING AND THE MANAGEMENT OF CHANGE

Certification is a positive evaluation of a set of learning experiences--an individual is "certified" when he or she has completed a set of learning experiences which meet the standards set by the certifying agent. Credentializing is the process of giving a positive evaluation to a specific learning experience or set of skills.

At present the processes of credentializing and certifying educational experience for adolescents are carried out by the high school. The individual is credentialized in a particular area when he has completed (with a passing grade) a school "course" in a particular "subject"; the certificate of successful completion of an acceptable mix of credentials is the "high school diploma." People understand the meaning of "grade," "course," "subject," and "diploma." They are comparable from one school to another because of the "Carnegie unit," which stipulates a certain minimum number of "classes" or subject meetings, so that an individual can transfer credentials or "credits" from one school to another. These concepts are meaningful to employers and colleges, which use them as the basis for determining the acceptability of a candidate.

The concept of diversification in education, however, raises new problems for this credentializing and certifying process. If the formal institutions of adolescent education are to recognize the fact that much learning takes place through mass media, for example, the process of credentializing and certifying must be changed to reflect this cognizance. Processes must be developed for credentializing the learning experiences which take place through any of the many new programs and external places recommended in preceding chapters.

One way to do this would be to allow the student who feels that he has learned enough through media to take the same tests as students who have taken the "course" in the "subject." A passing "grade" on the test would constitute a basis for credentializing. This approach has drawbacks in that the system would be biased in favor of the student who took the "course" in a number of unfair ways. First of all, the material on the test would more than likely reflect the particular teaching style and interests of the teacher; the correct interpretation of terms would be the teacher's interpretation, and the "noncourse" student would be handicapped by not knowing these interpretations. Additionally, the "grade" which a teacher assigns often reflects much more than the performance of the student on tests,[1] including notions such as "progress," special "effort," and "special handicaps." The "noncourse" student would not be subject to such elements, whether applied in his favor or not.

An innovation which allowed students to take "class" tests in order to credentialize mass media learning would be helpful, but it would help relatively few students. Most would continue to take the "course," rather than the media option. Particularly when one considers that the "grade" is often as important as the "credential" (i.e., for college entrance where the difference between an "A" and a "C" is as important as the difference between "passing" and "not passing"), most students would continue to take the option which would maximize their chances for the best grade. The effect of the innovation would be marginal.

On the other hand, to work out a system of credentializing which made the "learning" option real would require creating a situation in which the credential was equally accessible for the student who learns outside the school and the student who learns in the high school course. What is necessary is a "common coinage," a system of measuring learning which is not biased in favor of either learning situation. Such a common coinage is implied in the concept "performance criteria," which means that the credential is given to the student who can perform certain necessary operations which imply a mastery of the subject no matter which means of achieving mastery is chosen. A student with access to a set of such criteria could plan his or her own program of instruction in places other than school.

The development of performance criteria is thus a necessary first step to implementing diversification of learning in granting credentials, and it implies great effort by all concerned parties to state specifically the kinds of skills and practices involved in the mastery of any particular subject. However, the benefits from such effort are broader than the ability to provide diverse means of access to credentials. Adequate performance criteria would give the student more specific knowledge of what is to be learned and the steps through which he will go in order to do so. This would benefit students in "class" as well as those exercising an alternative option.

Indeed, the need for performance criteria as a part of credentializing has long been recognized for reasons which have little to do with diversification of education. Evaluation experts have pointed out the need for close correspondence between a grade and actual ability or competence in the subject matter.[2] Radical critics of education[3] and those not so radical[4] have pointed out many of the ambiguities in the present system of grading and credentializing. Others have argued for performance criteria as a necessary part of any attempt to develop procedures which assign responsibility for educational effects.[5] In sum, adequate performance criteria are needed in adolescent education whether one accepts or denies the value of the Panel's recommendations. In fact, a major effort was made in 1957 by Will French and others in Behavioral Goals of General Education in High School.[6]

For the development of adequate criteria one needs tools to measure performance on the one hand and methods of deciding what is worth measuring on the other. In the area of tools, there are many resources, perhaps the most useful being Bloom, Hastings, and Madaus's Handbook on Formative and Summative Evaluation.[7] In addition, many standardized achievement test are useful tools in measuring parts of the kind of performance valued. It is important to understand the implications of this "parts of." Achievement tests tend to rely heavily on verbal skills which are separable, to some extent, from many subject areas. Thus, they have a tendency to measure verbal skills rather than performance. Perhaps more importantly, achievement tests have been designed to measure only a few of the many competencies which one would hope to be able to measure. Many teachers and educators, in fact, feel that the more important an element is, the more difficult it is to measure.

This limitation on the power of measurement tools should be taken seriously. Many attempts at performance contracting have foundered on an overdependence upon achievement tests as indicators of performance.[8] Basically, decisions about how to measure learning have to be seen as secondary to decisions about what should be measured. The commitment of all involved is necessary to a process of defining the objectives of any particular course of study as precisely as possible. Only after this is done should one attempt to determine how to measure whether the objectives have been accomplished. Clearly this process involves a great deal of ambiguity and argument. Local educational institutions will have to commit themselves to a long process of discussion of educational objectives and various alternative means of measuring them until a set of measures is developed which is acceptable to all involved. The Panel believes that much of value in education can be measured or evaluated by means more readily available than complex and difficult-to-design new standardized or criterion-based paper and pencil tests.

Performance criteria are only adequate when all involved have confidence in them. So the question arises: "Who should develop performance criteria?" The answer is clear: "All those with an interest in education--teachers, administrators, parents, and students." For example, a group of parents, faculty, and students wishes to design a high school program for those who find much lacking in their present education. They express their collective purposes in such language as:

1. Reduce the incidence of truancy, tardiness, and class cutting.

2. Provide more opportunities for independent study.

3. Teach ways to examine issues more current and relevant to students' concerns.

4. Provide for ways to improve interpersonal relations among students and with teachers and parents.

Recasting these hopes into descriptions of behavioral consequences (if any) is an early step in the process of improving educational change and stabilizing its consequences. For example, recording present truancy rates and attendance records for the group concerned would provide a baseline against which to measure change--a practice almost never encountered. Second, instead of "providing more opportunity" for independent study, descriptions of the behaviors involved in such learning are spelled out, obstacles are forecast, contingencies are provided for, and outcomes are predicted before the new program is undertaken. Provisions are made for managing changes in midstream and identifying the indicators acceptable to all involved which warrant corrective action. Repeated observations of independent study programs reveal all too frequently the absence of such initial planning. Students undertake overly ambitious programs even as doctoral candidates frequently do. Tutorial appointments with the responsible teacher are too infrequent, hard to come by, and disturbed by unclear bench marks of adequate progress. The virtue of independence is soon found balanced by the loneliness of isolated learning without peer discussion to sharpen thinking and provide support. The product output, the evidence of the study, is poorly defined, often presented as techniques beyond the competence of the student. These suggestions are not written to minimize the importance of learning to study independently. Rather they illustrate the common error made by the schools when the language of a reform's title is presumed to be all the planning needed for a program to produce results.

The Panel has recommended, for example, that "work experience" be seen as a valuable part of secondary education. It has suggested several forms that such experience might take and several reasons why it is valuable, including self-awareness, knowledge about the adult world, and financial independence. However, there is an obvious problem in attempting to relate such experience to the traditional system of credentializing. Even performance criteria, while helpful in evaluating the skills which are developed on a job, are of little use in determining self-esteem or financial independence. Yet the pragmatic solutions currently in use are illustrative of much that can be done. Simple evidence of successful employment over a stipulated period of time may be taken as evidence to warrant credentializing the experience.

To go further is, of course, a difficult problem. Its solution will involve an effort to specify more adequately than has been done in the past the supposed educative benefits of a particular experience. For example, in the area of work experience or work study, a list of the educational benefits proposed might include the following items:

1. Self-esteem
2. Self-identity
3. A sense of order
4. A broader range of adult role models
5. Exposure to broader elements of the whole culture.[9]

But to translate these internalized learnings into externally observable behaviors is an unfinished task.

If an educational governing group decided to include such items as goals of its educational system, its next step would be to provide alternative pathways for arriving at such benefits. Some students might arrive at them through a normal school program; others might choose a work-study option; others might try academic-linked "action learning" or involvement in local political processes.

Such steps would require a broader view of education and of what educative experience is than most schools manifest today. One of the benefits which would accrue, however, would be a lessening of the sense of irrelevance which many students have about school.[10] Another would be to assist students to confront learning more directly than through the present "grade" system. In essence, educational institutions would be recognizing what is already evident: the existence of a large element of non-school learning and its certification as a legitimate experience.

Before such innovation would be effective, however, changes will have to be made in the interpretation of certification. High school diplomas are of primary importance to outside social institutions, particularly colleges and employers, which used to rely heavily on them to determine eligibility for admittance or employment (although there is growing evidence that this is becoming more a vestigial rite than a functioning system). If the diverse educational pathways the Panel suggests are to become a reality for the large percentage of adolescents who go on to higher education, the colleges and universities will have to take greater account of nonacademic experience and be provided with evidence of learning that

is credibly related to student maturation and skills.

The changes oulined above represent a new direction for the certification function of schools. Once again, Panel recommendations in one area seem to require changes in another. Yet in this area as well, the Panel finds much criticism of the present practices of educational institutions for independent reasons. The Newman Task Force in its Report on Higher Education concluded its comments about credentials and certification in the following manner:

> The . . . immediate need is to break the credentials monoply by opening up alternative routes to obtaining credentials. The monopolistic power of colleges and universities (and, we might add, high schools) cannot be justified on the grounds of their effectiveness in screening for occupational performance, nor on the grounds that being the sole agencies for awarding degrees and credentials is necessary to their educational mission. Internal reforms now under way--a de-emphasis on grades, more independent work, credit for off-campus experience, modest expansion in the use of equivalency examinations--are important but not enough. New paths to certification are needed.[11]

These are the same "new paths" that are required if out-of-school educational experience is to be incorporated in a meaningful way into educational planning.

Another aspect of the certification problem is presented in the work of Ivar Berg[12] who shows that, while educational credentials are often indispensable for getting a job, there is increasing evidence that they have little to do with how well an individual performs on the job. Additionally, Berg feels that many employers demand too much education for the jobs they offer, leading to job dissatisfaction. Clear statements of the entry-level skills needed for successful job performance would go a long way toward reducing job failure, improving training, and reducing sex and race suspicions about the irrelevance of many job standards.

Good governance in a democratic situation involves at least three basic elements: adequate information for informed decisions (evaluation), procedures for making decisions acceptable to all or most of those involved, and adequate procedures for carrying out the decisions made (administration).

"Adequate information" for decisionmaking is vital. As previously indicated, collective development of education alternatives for certification and performance criteria for those educational experiences susceptible to meaningful measurement are the best ways to provide adequate information for decisionmaking.

Another aspect of the problem of governance is the question of procedures for making decisions which are as satisfying as possible for all involved. Panel recommendations for diversification in education do imply certain changes in decisionmaking. If the notion of what experiences are potentially educational is expanded, ways must be found to involve those providing the new experiences in decisionmaking. If a community arts center is opened as a part of a set of alternative educational experiences, for example, methods must be developed for decision making which represent all the potential users of the facility to design a proper mix of programing. A wide variety of nonacademic offerings would mean a larger variety of interested groups. Additionally, a closer relationship between community and school would be necessary to insure that decisions about educational alternatives meet the needs of the community.

One approach to coping with such eventualities would be to retain the present local school board system. In this event, the board would find itself facing unprecedented decisions: how to "certify" local artists for the center, how to operate a program to enhance age-mixing, where to find and how to reallocate money for this new venture.

Another alternative would leave decisionmaking in the hands of other governmental agencies. Major segments of educational policy would then no longer be controlled by the board, and it would need to develop semidiplomatic relations with other governing agencies. As more options developed decisionmaking would become more complex.

Neither of these alternatives is appealing; the problems are just too great. Several suggestions about governance of education have been advanced to meet these and other problems. The Panel is not of one mind concerning the best solution to these problems. The following list of proposed solutions is offered in an effort to clarify debate.

1. <u>The "Educational Assembly" idea</u>.

This concept starts from recognition of the various agencies which affect the educational environment. Aside from public schools there are museums, symphony orchestras, private schools of both a general and specific nature, educational media, and various governmental units (local, State and national). All of them have direct commitments to education.

There are also major institutions in society which affect the educational environment (the mass media, churches, civic groups, the family, etc.) even though they don't have specific formal educational functions. To make effective policy in this situation, it is argued that a regionally elected legislative body with specific responsibility for education is necessary. Such a body would have direct responsibility to voters and would cope with issues in a broad manner. It would supersede the local board of education, operate as a legislature, and be relieved of administrative functions. As the finance controlling body it would hold operating units accountable.[13]

2. Tie education much more directly to local political units.

At present school jurisdictions are often separate from other political units; school board elections usually occur separately from other elections and are, at least nominally, nonpartisan. Making school board offices appointive, or even abolishing school boards and making schools directly responsible to city councils, it is argued, would do much to break down the insulation of school systems and enable them more easily to meet new situations. Schools would be administered by a commissioner or a commission such as the police, fire, water, and welfare programs generally are. All the age-old fears would be immediately put to the test.

3. Within one or the other of the above frameworks for governance, create building-level councils of parents, teachers, students, administrators, and interested community members, presumably including representatives of other agencies with educational interests and programs to hold each place and program close to its purposes.

Such a group would be better able, it is asserted, to sense the educational needs of the individual school community and keep programs responsive to clients.

These alternatives represent widely different thrusts. Additionally, various implementations of them could be developed; fund-raising, for example, could be a statewide function, while fund dispersement could be handled by the local school committee.

Whichever alternative is chosen, room must be made for participation of all interested groups. Bloom, Hastings, and Madaus discuss the important role of students in the definition of objectives.[14] Albert Shanker, President of the American Federation of Teachers, discusses the importance of involving all elements in decisionmaking:

"The . . . concept of accountability as being the development, with other groups, of common objectives is, I believe, acceptable to teachers, because strictly speaking it is not for teachers alone to determine what the goals of education are."[15] He goes on to discuss actual attempts to do just that.

These are big changes and raise the question of whether the present school board system is adequate for the job. The evidence indicates that in the past it has not been. Rather than being open to the participation of all sectors of the local community, education has developed in an atmosphere of physical and philosophical isolation.[16] The isolation minimized its dependence on environmental enterprise from the field of social forces in its environmental constraints, according to some researchers.[17] Moreover, Smoley's study[18] is only one of several which indicate an overwhelming number of routine decisions at almost all levels of education. The more routinized the policy process, the more the managers of the organization influence policy, and the easier it is for those with an obvious, direct, and persistent stake in policy to dominate it.[19, 20]

Yet the system of public education in the United States has always praised itself for being under "local control." This seems to contradict the view of the scholars. The answer to the contradiction is to be found in an understanding of the particular type of local control involved. For example, most studies of local school boards have demonstrated that only a narrow range of interests is usually reflected on boards.[21,22,23,24,25] In addition, most school politics, as already indicated, are further isolated by elections held at times differing from those of other governing agencies, with different jurisdiction boundaries, and an ideology of nonpartisanship. In this isolated atmosphere the professional educator theoretically has had extensive power to influence decisions through his control of information and ability to structure agenda.[26] Paradoxically, the view from the executive's chair is quite different. He sees himself less the manager than the victim; less the proposer of changes than the target of abuse. This is true at the local level as well as at the level of State government, where many of the most important decisions about education are made. Increased public concern, particularly over the finances of education, as well as the manifest conflict and disruption of education which occurred in the late 1960's led the Panel to question the desirability of retaining these traditional educational governance structures, whatever alternative is chosen.

In contrast to decisionmaking, administration raises a different group of issues. The administration of a local arts center, for instance, could be handled in a variety of ways. One might be administration through the local principal, whose job would thus expand greatly in scope. As educational options developed, so would the complication of the job. An alter-

native would be independent administration of different learning options, with the principal becoming something of an education broker, making available different options and smoothing the way as much as possible. Another possibility would be to remove administration of the overall educational experience from the school entirely, so that the principal's role would be the close supervision of a limited set of clearly academic programs. Responsibility for certification of educational experience (as opposed to credentialization) would rest with an outside agency with far-ranging interests and powers.[27]

There are advantages and drawbacks to each option; no one is clearly superior at this point. What is clear is the value of local involvement in the implementation of decisions, whatever the administrative alternative chosen. This is true whether one speaks of evaluation, decision-making, or administration.

The Panel does not wish, at this point, to fall into the trap of overenthusiastic advocacy of specific reforms in education no matter how valuable they may appear. Indeed, the Panel hopes that its recommendations will compel a recognition of the need to be more specific about what we, the people, are trying to accomplish in education and the need to develop procedures for determining whether we are accomplishing what we want. Without such procedures much of education will continue to be dominated by rhetoric rather than science, and attempts to develop accountability will be, in the words of evaluation specialist Michael Scriven, "a sham."[28]

Innovation is one area in which the specification of educational objectives should be possible and manageable. While it may be difficult to declare the goals of instruction in English with measurable specificity at this time, the objectives of change in such a program might be stated clearly. As experience with such procedures expands, it should be much easier to apply them to existing program elements. In sum, the Panel suggests that "change elements" be seen as a starting point for developing meaningful programs of objective statements and performance criteria.

Such steps would be healthy antidotes to the way that change too often takes place presently. Innovation is initiated frequently by overstatements about what is wrong with schools the way they are, all too often provoked by the isolation of educational decisionmakers from community sentiment. In order to call attention to their ideas, reformers are often compelled to exaggerate the potential benefits of their proposals. Particular proposals take on the aura of cure-alls, and opponents of the measure are attacked for opposing all change.

Once the measure is adopted, it becomes difficult to assess the effects. Supporters tend to see the implementation of the measure as the real victory; thus, the situation is governed more by a political perspective than by interest in educational benefit. Opponents, instead of working to maximize benefits, often obstruct the program, if only passively. Since one's idea of the success or failure of the program is so much a consequence of one's political perspective, little effort is made to develop procedures acceptable to both sides for determining the merit of the program. Problems which develop in implementation are seen by some as confirmation of its fundamental weakness, by others as a consequence of sabotage or ineptness; rarely is the program altered to overcome the problems. With opinion so divided, little is done to foresee problems and prepare for their eventuality.

This is indeed a peculiar situation, allowing no feedback in the implementation process and thus no room for meeting unexpected situations. When the innovation fails to meet the high expectations created by the reformers, disillusionment sets in and the situation reverts to the previous state, except that there may be even less visible concern for schools.

The "successful" innovation often fares little better. The project, fired during the first period by leadership with a sense of mission, by the "Hawthorne effect" which accompanies any new venture, and by the enthusiasm of everyone involved, is branded a success. As the project becomes routinized, however, interest dininishes and enthusiasm wanes. Along with this decline goes most of the improvement in test scores, etc. Once again, success or failure was primarily a matter of people's inpressions, and it was not lasting.

Yet change in education, as in any other enterprise, can be managed in a way which enables all involved to develop a realistic assessment. To eliminate the factors in the environment which lead to the kind of situations described above, and to make management of change a sufficient strategy for turning education in the direction of the evaluative and governance procedures suggested earlier in this chapter, the Panel recommends the following steps:

1. Professional school people should counteract the aura of isolation by actively soliciting proposals for educational change and critiques of present practices.

This will do much to obviate the need for excessive rhetoric on the part of reformers.

2. Attempts should be made to enlist the interest and participation of all those involved in education in the local community to spell out clearly the objectives of any particular program.

General consensus must be reached over objectives; doing this will involve much discussion and compromise.

3. Once objectives are agreed on, an equal amount of effort must be expended in developing performance criteria for evaluation of the innovation.

Such criteria should be reliable and verifiable--that is, they should be ones that can be used in more than one circumstance, and they must be measurable in some way. "Measurable" in this sense means something close to "discoverable"; a set of procedures must be developed that will make clear the meaning of the outcome to all parties involved. "Measurable" does not only mean standardized tests, but many other procedures as well.

An example may be helpful. Suppose a goal for a program is "ability to investigate a particular problem independently." A test of such an ability must be designed which assigns a student a particular topic problem, records his attempts to go to resource materials, his use of those materials, his organization of the materials thus discovered, and the method of reporting the materials. Judgments by independent observers of the student would be a "measure" of his ability in this area. Bench marks of the student's capabilities before the change was incorporated are needed so that reasonable progress or its lack may be measured. How high is up is a perenially unanswered question in the politics of educational change.

4. During the initial period of installation, allowance must be made for "in process" or formative evaluation.

In educational research, it is important to maintain external conditions as constant as possible so that results will truly reflect the particular factors being considered. In educational change, however, the desire is to create the best learning environment. Evaluative guideposts can serve valuable functions, such as helping to bring about discovery of unforeseen difficulties. The distinction between such formative evaluation and summative "endpoint" evaluation is spelled out clearly by Bloom, Hastings, and Madaus.[29]

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APPENDIX A

Background Papers

prepared for

The National Panel on High Schools and Adolescent Education

Options in Public Education: The Alternative Public School Movement
Robert D. Barr
Vernon H. Smith
Educational Alternatives Project
School of Education
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana

Experiential Education
Lance Dublin
High School Student Information Center
Washington, D.C.

Citizenship as the Aim of the Social Studies
Arthur W. Foshay
assisted by William W. Burton
Teachers College
Columbia University
New York, New York

The Adolescent Student as a Social Animal
Allan A. Glatthorn and Associates
Graduate School of Education
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

The Arts in the American High School: A Proposal
Maxine Greene
Teachers College
Columbia University
New York, New York

Clockwork Apple or B. F. Skinner's Revenge
Peter Grunwald
High School Student Information Center
Washington, D.C.

Politics of Education
Laurence Iannaccone
School of Administration
University of California at Santa Barbara
Santa Barbara, California

Current and Possible Roles of Technology in Education
Milton S. Katz
MITRE Corporation
McLean, Virginia

Youth, Learning and Values
Max Lerner
New York Post
New York, New York

New Directions in Youth Employment: An Analysis
Donald M. Levine
Teachers College
Columbia University
New York, New York

Racial Inequality in Secondary Education
Elvin Montgomery, Jr.
New York City Headstart Program
New York, New York

The Job Market and the High School
Selma Mushkin
Public Services Laboratory
Georgetown University
Washington, D.C.

Present Status of American Institutions of Secondary Education
William H. Roe
Christine LaConte
School of Education
University of Connecticut
Storrs, Connecticut

Vocational and Career Education: A Critique and Some New Directions
David Rogers
Graduate School of Business Administration
New York University
New York, New York

A Demographic Profile of Adolescents 12 to 18 Years Old
David Roy
Department of Human Development & Family Studies
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

Physical Development of 12 to 18 Year Olds
David Roy
Department of Human Development & Family Studies
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

The Evaluation of U.S. Secondary Education
Michael Scriven
Evaluation Consultant
Berkeley, California

Plenary School Evaluation: An Internal Evaluation System of American Secondary Schools
John Stanavage
North Central Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges
Chicago, Illinois

Youth, Media and Education
Ronald E. Sutton
assisted by Nancy Yanofsky and Norma Higgins
National Association of Media Educators
Washington, D.C.

The Nature of the Adolescent Learning Process and Its Implications for Secondary School Curriculum
Sheldon White
Graduate School of Education
Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Schools...What For?
Mary Wilson
High School Student Information Center
Washington, D.C.

Student Rights
Mary Wilson
High School Student Information Center
Washington, D.C.

APPENDIX B

SPEAKERS TO THE NATIONAL PANEL ON HIGH SCHOOLS

AND ADOLESCENT EDUCATION

Vivienne Anderson
"New York State's Activities in Arts and Humanities Education"
September 1972
Director, Division of the Humanities and the Arts
New York State Department of Education
Albany, New York

Harold W. Arberg
Informal response to questions, September 1972
Director, Arts and Humanities Program
Office of Education
Washington, D.C.

Robert Binswanger
"The Status and Goals of the Experimental Schools Project"
April 1972
Director, Experimental Schools
Office of Education
Washington, D.C.
Currently: Director, Experimental Schools
National Institute of Education
Washington, D.C.

Ivar Berg
"Credentialism and Jobs," May 1972
Professor of Sociology
Graduate School of Business
Columbia University
New York, New York

Jules Cohn
"Manpower Training in the Private Sector," June 1972
Professor of Political Science
City University of New York
New York, New York

Max Eninger
"Project Metro and a Manpower Conversion Approach to Vocational Education"
June 1972
President, Educational Systems Research Institute
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Maxine Greene
"The Arts and Education," September 1972
Professor of Philosophy and Education
Teachers College
Columbia University
New York, New York

Ronald Gross
"Radical Reform of High School Education," April 1972
Vice President, Academy for Educational Development
Great Neck, New York

Floyd Johnson
"The Usefulness of the Arts in Society and in the Schools"
September 1972
Metropolitan Opera Singer, musician, New York City music teacher
Brooklyn, New York

Wallace Kennedy
"The Urban Arts Program," September 1972
Project Administrator, Urban Arts Program
Minneapolis Public Schools
Minneapolis, Minnesota

John Kerr
"Educational Programs of the National Endowment for the Arts"
September 1972
Director of Education
National Endowment for the Arts
Washington, D.C.

Leonard Lecht
"Vocational Education - Its Effectiveness and Its Relations with Different Levels of Government," June 1972
Director, Center for Priority Analysis
National Planning Association
Washington, D.C.

Laurence E. Lynn, Jr.
"HEW's Intent in Creating the National Panel on High Schools and Adolescent Education," March 1972
Assistant Secretary for Planning & Evaluation
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Washington, D.C.
Currently: Assistant Secretary for Program Development & Budget
Department of Interior
Washington, D.C.

S. P. Marland, Jr.
"Introductory Statements," February 1972
Commissioner of Education
Office of Education
Washington, D.C.
Currently: President
College Entrance Examination Board
888 Seventh Avenue
New York, New York 10019

Michael Moskow
"A Statistical and Descriptive Portrait of Adolescents in the Labor Force," May 1972
Assistant Secretary for Policy, Evaluation and Research
Department of Labor
Washington, D.C.
Currently: Assistant Secretary for Policy Development & Research
Department of Housing & Urban Development
Washington, D.C.

Ernst Stromsdorfer
"A Cost Effective Look at Vocational Education," June 1972
Associate Professor of Economics
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana

The following Panel members gave formal presentations to the group:
Zahava Blum-Doering (April 1972)
Lloyd Michael (April 1972)
Selma Mushkin (May 1972)
David Rogers (November 1972)
Laurence Iannaccone (February 1973)

The following non-Panel authors of background papers made oral presentations of their work:
Sheldon White (December 1972)
David Roy (December 1972)
Elvin Montgomery, Jr. (December 1972)